1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

352 285 mat. These mats and the bark cloth are stored in bales on the beams wrapped in old, coarse matting.

352 513 In some *longgi*, the couch on which the head of the household sleeps is simply a pile of mats; in others it is a long, broad stage spread with mats. The other members of the household sleep about the floor with their feet to the wall. In the old days, beds were piled up with grass and coconut leaves, five or six feet high all round the house, each wife having her bed.

352 353 Near the couches members of the household place their European wooden boxes in which they keep their clothing, scented oil, comb, mirror, and other odds and ends. At the lower end and at the sides of the house, hanging from the beams, resting on a beam, or placed against the wall, are kava bowls, kava cups, enamel cups, hurricane lanterns, and baskets.

342 Dwelling houses of married folks are called *vale soso*. The sleeping quarters of the young men are small ordinary houses called *mbure*.

Tumbou

361 The present site of Tumbou was first occupied by the Tongans. The people of this village moved down to the shore in 1868 or 1869 under the reign of Taliai Tupou. The remains of the old village Nakorovusa lies about half a mile higher up the Nakula stream. Only the moat and a few mounds on which the houses stood are left, all covered with a thick jungle.

552 As shown in the plan of Tumbou, given in figure 3, each house has a name, and it is customary to say, not "I am *going* to Isoa's," but "I am going to Vunisavisavi"; not "Salesi and his people," but "they of Matanalailai."

Some of these names are old, some are recent. Thus Wangganui was so called because the high chief's sister's son had been to school in Wanganui, New Zealand. The name Niu Kini was suggested by the fact that a teacher was in New Guinea. Manono is an old name; it refers to an island in Samoa, the place of origin of the Lemaki family. Tui Mereke's house is called Loa, after a village in Oneata; his mother was a lady of Oneata. Many house names are derived from Vanua Levu, more particularly Thakaundrove as: Thakaundroveiwai, Mbenau, Seanggangga.

621 614 Formerly a ditch or stream divided the village of Tumbou into halves or sides (*tambana*); Tumbou to the east, and Tai, the other bank, to the west. The village is also divided into clans known as *matanggali* (*mata*, face, eye, also group; *nggali*, subject to, or connected).

614 The subdivisions of a clan are called *mbati ni lovo* (sides or edges of the oven). "Sides of the oven," says my informant Meli, "refer to feasts; each edge has its own oven; but when the food is ready, the whole is put

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

614 together to make one. In house building and clearing each edge of the oven has its portion to do." The term *i tokatoka* (residence) is also used, apparently in a similar sense. But these terms are very uncertain and in the country even adults sometimes do not know their "side of the oven." The Lands Commission has grouped the people somewhat artificially.

The traditional clans of the Tai division of Tumbou are as follows:

Katumbalevu (the great door);
(a) Matailakemba
(b) Vatuwangga
(c) Naivi
(d) Koroithumu or Navutoka
(e) Katumbalevu
(f) Tonga
Vale Lailai (the little house).

614 565 The Matailakemba, Vatuwangga, Naivi, and Koroithumu make up the family of Navuanirewa, a term which is never used for any practical purpose. It is merely the name, so to say, of the Royal Family, and designates the descendants of Niumataiwalu (p. 241), who are usually spoken of as *ko ira na Turanga* (the nobles). They came from another land of old. It is said that when the Navuanirewa came to Tumbou from Naiau they dwelt in Katumbalevu; that is why the two go together.

Some difference of opinion exists as to the proper term to apply to these four subdivisions of the nobles. In practice they are also spoken of as clans. If a man of Matailakemba is asked the name of his clan he will say either "the nobles" or "Matailakemba." In theory however it is maintained that they are not clans, but merely houses, or "sides of the oven." One says, "Katumbalevu is a *matanggali* and so are its subdivisions of Vatuwangga, Matailakemba, Naivi, and Koroithumu. Katumbalevu was split up because it increased very much in numbers, and in order that the feasts to the Big House might be increased. Each clan, regardless of numbers, is assessed. Thus if a clan is very large, it has to be split up to double its contribution.

Another informant, Salesi (Pl. I, *B*), says that Matailakemba, Vatuwangga, Naivi, Koroithumu were originally households (*vuvale*). Then people saw that they were slack in preparing feasts, though a big clan with many members; so they divided them into smaller clans or sides of the oven. Vunimoli (Vuanimoli?) was first parted off, then Thaumatua, both extinct, and the third, Big House, was split up again. Those were edges of the oven. Then they divided off clans, not sides of the oven: Koroithumu, then Matailakemba; Vatuwangga and Naivi were the last to be split up. This is the reason for this last splitting up: "Naivi and Vatuwangga were one,

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

but when they made a feast the Naivi people took no part, but went to plant, leaving Vatuwangga to make the oven; for the Naivi people were zealous planters, and despised state ceremonial (*ka vaka vunua*). Therefore Tione Wesele decided they should be split up; for Tione Wesele looked after the feasts, and would give instructions for feasts to all the people." Thus Naivi were compelled to work for feasts having no one to whom to shift the duty. Thus these four subdivisions are, for practical purposes, clans; but constituting the nobility, they are proud of their common origin, and insist that they are not clans, but branches of one family. These statements show that the natives can apparently contradict themselves, yet be perfectly truthful.

Naivi is descended from the eldest son of Niumataiwalu and his wife Tarau; Matailakemba and Vatuwangga from two sons of the second son of Niu and Tarau; Koroithumu, from a younger son of Niu by Uma, a lady of Nukunuku. Inside Naivi, the descendants of Ndranivia seem on the way to form a new clan, for they live apart from the rest of the clan, sometimes act apart, and call themselves Nanggorokoto.

Though descendants of the eldest son, Naivi come after Matailakemba and Vatuwangga. At the Lands Enquiry there was some discussion as to who should come first. Then the leaders of Vatuwangga and of Matailakemba abused those of Naivi, calling them "descendants of the slain," "bodies for the oven" (*mbakola*), because Naivi was defeated and butchered long ago by Matailakemba and Vatuwangga combined.

Matailakemba is a small clan. Vatuwangga and Naivi are very large and hang very much together. Koroithumu seemed to me insignificant.

Katumbalevu proper are "the natives," a clan almost extinct: of the two sides, Mauthori and Vuanimoli, only Mauthori, descended through females, survives. The name Katumbalevu is seldom used except of this small group.

Tonga is purely a creation of the Lands Commission, though the term has passed into use. Formerly the Tongans were *vulangi* (stranger or guest) each attached to one or other of the clans; they were members of the various noblemen's households.

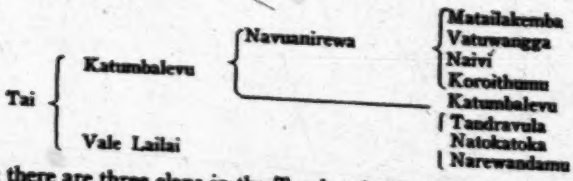
Vale Lailai is divided into: Tandravula, Natokatoka, Narewandamu. Natokatoka is again subdivided into upper and lower.

Tandravula is extinct and of Natokatoka only women survive. Emosi declares that Narewandamu, to which he belongs, is not a clan but an "edge of the oven," but usually it is spoken of as a clan.

One informant used Katumbalevu in a wide sense as pertaining to all

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6 Lakemba

●614 clans; or, the whole of Tai. Thus the classification of clans in Tai, exclusive of the Tongans, is as follows:



At present there are three clans in the Tumbou half of the village: Theyekena or Thekena, Tanggalevu or Tumbou, and Tuware.

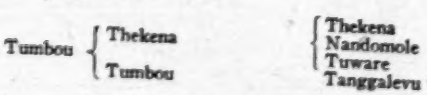
Of the many subdivisions of the clan Thekena only one is left. And of the Tumbou clans, only Tanggalevu remains. There is some doubt about the subdivisions of Thekena, due to the small numbers surviving. A great many emigrated during a famine and are now to be found in Mualevu and Natewa.

Tanggalevu, which comes second, is the largest clan in the Tumbou half of the village. Its "sides of the oven" are Lomaitheno, first; Thokenikoro, second. Lomaitheno is also the name of a piece of land in Tumbou. The expression *Tumbou lewena* is often heard; meaning, "Tumbou, the core" or it may be short for *Tumbou, lewe ni vanua* (Tumbou, the people of the land). It appears to refer to the clan, not to the half village.

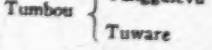
The position of Tuware is not clear. The herald says that Tumbou was divided into Thekena, Nandomole, and *Tuware on one* side and Tanggalevu on the other. A nobleman says Tuware was subject to Thekena. Against that we have the facts that the present order of precedence is Thekena, Tanggalevu, Tuware; that the Tuware quarter is at the opposite end to Thekena; that Tuware is now merged into Tanggalevu. It, however, may have originally belonged to Thekena.

The only survivor of the Tuware clan died during my residence in Fiji. His "side of the oven" was Vatuoso. According to the Lands Enquiry this side comes second, the first one being Naiviloaloa.

Tumbou, then, is subdivided as follows:



or else



1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

614 ●
177
578

Ancestry, descent, lineage is expressed in Fijian by the word *kawa*. From this is formed a verb *vakawatha*, to trace a pedigree. The Fijians of old were fond of pedigrees, but these became tapu with the introduction of Christianity. An inquiry into a genealogy was a cause of anger and an accusation of discussing others. It was looked upon as an intrigue, for the recital might reveal ancestors who were of low degree (*kaisi*) or captives. People began discussing their pedigrees when the Lands Enquiry drew near.

614
565

The best preserved genealogies, those of the four noble clans of Navuanirewa, are so extensive that it is impossible to reproduce them in detail. (See genealogy p. 241.)

Naivi, the descendants of Uluilakemba I, comprises about fifty members, whether in the clan or married out of it. The eldest branch is formed by the descendants of Ndausinga, the eldest son of Uluilakemba I, the eldest son of Niumataiwalu, the common ancestor of Navuanirewa. Among them Meli Saulekaleka comes first, being descended through eldest sons. He lived with Tumbou on account of his mother who was of Tanggalevu. Melaia Lutu, who also descended from the eldest son by a junior line, was a woman of importance, with a great reputation for learning.

The most in evidence, however, of the Naivi people were the descendants of Ndranivia, Uluilakemba I's third son. They were led by Joshua, an energetic and ambitious man, seconded by three hard-working brothers.

Matailakemba, the descendants of Malani, son of Rasolo, is a small clan. With one exception they are all descended from Rasolo's eldest son, Vuetasau. For three generations the eldest branch have intermarried with Nasangalau. Sikeli Ralovo, the senior representative of the family in the female line, lived in Nasangalau, where he ordered the people about as became his rank. In the male line Andi Maopa came first. She was married to a Mbauan of high rank, and was most popular and respected in Lakemba. Her brother, Ratu Finau, the High Chief, was the senior male member of the clan, and therefore ranked highest in the leading clan. He had married a Mbauan lady. Malani was the only surviving son of Vuetasau and the oldest man in Tai. He was a boy when his father became Christian. The descendants of Soroanggali, second son of Rasolo, are extinct, except for a line in Naiau.

Vatuwangga is composed of the descendants of Taliai Tupou, third son of Rasolo. Isoa Wanggawai came first as son of Taliai's eldest son. He was married to the senior living lady of Naivi. His son, Salesi, had been the late High Chief's adopted son. The oldest generation in Vatuwangga

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

and among all the descendants of Niumataiwalu was represented by Tui Mereke, the youngest and last surviving son of Taliai Tupou, born in Christian times. Vatuwangga included some descendants of Andi Sivoki, eldest daughter of Nuimataiwalu. They entered the clan through a lady of Vatuwangga who was married to Sivoki's great-grandson, and occupied a subordinate position.

Manase Kaukiovalau and his brother, though not descended from Taliai were set down in Vatuwangga, and not in Tonga, for the following reason: Henifanga, a Tongan lady, was well off in Tonga, but sought poverty in Fiji. Coming with Mataitalo to Fiji, she saw the coast of Ndravuwalu, liked it, and married the Tui Ndravuwalu, the chief. Her daughter married the Chief of Totoya, who lived in Tovu, and her two daughters were brought to Lakemba as wives of Rasolo. The son of one of them was Taliai Tupou. The two sisters sent for Tuivu, the son of Mataitalo, who came and lived with Taliai as member of his household.

Vatuwangga numbered about forty residents, whether living in the clan or married out of it.

Koroithumu, the descendants of Matawalu, was a very small clan. Matawalu, the younger, and Wangganisau appeared to be the most prominent persons in it, both descendants of the eldest son.

Of Katumbalevu proper only a few descendants in the female line remain. Wanggaituinayau, who was looked upon as the proper head, had retired to Nasangalau, leaving Niuvusa in possession. Niuvusa is set down in Katumbalevu because Wanggaveisa, his grandfather, a Tongan, was brought by Malani, the elder, to Lakemba, and lived with him. Malani gave him to wife a woman of Katumbalevu, one of his household.

Narewandamu were nearing extinction; only seven remained.

In Tumbou proper, Thekena consists of the grandchildren of a common ancestor and their children. Tione Mbiu bears the title of Vakavanua, but Poasa is the senior branch.

The people of Tanggalevu cannot trace their ancestry back far enough to reach the common ancestor. Semi Vakathoko was admitted to represent the senior branch; but Maikeli Tokalauvere was the oldest generation, and also the oldest man in the whole village. He bore the title of Tui Tumbou, though a descendant in the female line.

Outside the clans of Navuanirewa few informants can trace their descent beyond their grandparents; some not that far.

Matailakemba and Vatuwangga occupy the center of the village of Tumbou. Matailakemba with a few of Vatuwangga live round the village green (*rara*). Some of the Naivi people live at the back of the village in

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Upper Naivi (Naivi i Thake). The descendants of Ndranivia, however, live at the west end of the village, intermingled with Narewandamu. The reason is that a son of Ndranivia settled there and did the work of the clan of Narewandamu, his mother's clan; that is, he helped them at feasts and used their land. He had been adopted into Matailakemba; but seeing his father's clan empty by reason of the civil wars, he decided to raise it up again, so left Matailakemba, followed by Narewandamu. Katumbalevu proper are on the west side of the Green.

Usually a man "follows" his father's clan, but many men live with their mother's people, even though both clans may be in the same village, next to one another. If a man lives with his wife's people, the children follow the mother's clan. A man will also live with the clan into which he has been adopted, but may leave it to go back to his father's.

Marriage inside the clan, while not prohibited, is not usual. My records for the country villages show 14 internal marriages out of 123. For Levuka, none in 31 marriages is recorded. For Vakano, 3 internal marriages were noted. It is definitely stated that people of the same clan or household (*vuvale*) may marry. Formerly, several married couples might occupy one house, but now the Government insists that each married couple have a home.

A house and the people who live in it are called a *vuvale* (base of a house or perhaps a house chief). Now that there is only one married couple in each house the term includes several houses. The word *vuvale* was defined, the people who work together. Thus Vunisavisavi and Yangasa were reckoned as one *vuvale*: they shared their kitchen. My informant did not include himself in his father's household. Isoa of Vunisavisavi and Kelepi of Yangasa are first cousins according to European reckoning, brothers according to theirs. Joshua, his brother Isoa, and his brother's son Naua, who have each his own house, are reckoned as one household. Members of one household have only one Sunday oven together. Formerly *vuvale* were important, but now that each man has his own house they appear to be overlooked.

Strangers are called *vulangi* (*vu*, base; *langi*, sky, horizon). Strangers living with nobles (*turanga*) are known as their *i solasolo* (meaning not clear; *solo* means to rub). The Government allows a share in all rents to a personage entitled *turanga ni nggali* (chief of the tribe), but all witnesses are unanimous that there is no such thing in Lau. Formerly there was one "owning chief" (*turanga i taukei*) in each clan, distinct from the chief of the clan (*turanga ni matanggali*). The chief of the clan directs the feast, the oven; the owning chief is the senior branch (*ulumatua*) and merely abides and rules the land. The Lord of Naiau is owning chief in

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Katumbalevu only; Vale Lailai have one of their own. Tuimereke, as last survivor of the oldest generation, was chief of the clan (*turanga ni matanggali*).

There are also heads of the sides of the oven (*mbati ni lovo*) or residences (*i tokatoka*). Salesi of the senior branch of Vatuwangga was chief of his quarter, but resigned, and was succeeded by Peni Vakaruarua.

Levuka

Levuka bears a peculiar relation to Tumbou and to the other villages of Lakemba. The Levukans alone are permitted to wear the turban in the village. The following information concerning the Levukans was given to me by natives:

Levuka has the same meaning as *voroka*, the body, trunk, main part. Mbau is the original home of the Levukans. Their dialect still differs from that of Lakemba, but at the present day it inclines more to Lauan. Formerly they married within the village that the Levukan blood might not be lost, but now they marry outside.

Only three clans remain: Ndaulakemba, Manukuira, Ndelaikorolevu. The ceremonial name (*i thavu*) of Levuka is Ndelaikorolevu (top of the great village), it refers to the hill in Mbau on which they used to live. Ndelaikorolevu is the herald clan. The chief is known as Ndaulakemba, or short Ndau (fisherman, or the navigator).

The business of the people of Levuka was to sail. Alone they used to sail, for the other villages were on the hills. They did not plant or fish except to please themselves.

The women made pots to sell. They got clay from Mbala in Lakemba; black sand from Oneata; red sand from Narukuinanggelendamundamu in Lakemba. Both these sands were mixed with the clay. After making the pots they left them to dry for two or three weeks and then baked them. They used taro to paint washing-basins while hot; then they painted them with an infusion of mangrove bark; this gave a good appearance and made it lasting. Cooking pots they painted with the resin of the kauri technically called *makaudre*. Pots were not painted inside. These pots were not taken for presentation at ceremonial exchanges or potlatches (*solevu*), but were sold and paid for in bark-cloth, oil, tobacco. They went all over Lau with their pots. There is only one woman that can make pots now—the only Levukan woman in Lau. The Lakembans still maintain their Mbauan connection. Their clan in Mbau is the Vusaratu, the clan of the Roko Tui Mbau.[1]

[1] One informant however says that Ndaulakemba goes to Tuikamba, the clan of the Vunivalu of Mbau, Ndelaikorolevu to Vusaratu, and Manukuira to the heralds.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

554
291

As in Lakemba, so in Mbau; the Ndau is the only one who may wear a turban in a gathering of chiefs; this is a custom from old times. They also wear turbans in Thakaundrove and everywhere. Levukans also get the head of the pig in Mbau, and if Mbauans come to Lakemba and get a pig they send the head to the Levukans. It has something to do with border people or "teeth" (*mbati*); but the head of the fish is for the chiefs of Mbau.

622

The Levukans used to go to Mbau to install every new Vunivalu as Tui Levuka. They have not installed the last two; but if the present one wished it, the Levuka people would "make him drink." (See p. 69.)

614 ●
602

The *tauvu*[1] of Levuka is Nandave, once a village of eight clans, now merely a clan adjoining Mualevu village. Levuka and Nandave have gods in common (*kalou vata*). Other *tauvu* are Nasau and Namathake in Koro, and the island of Mango the inhabitants of which are now in Namalata, Vanua Mbalavu.

Lauandoko

621

Lauandoko, the Country, as distinguished from Tumbou and Levuka, includes the villages of Wathiwathi, Waitambu, Nasangalau, Vakano, Nukunuku, Narethake, and Yandrana.

614

The clans of Wathiwathi and their sides of the oven are:

1.	Nanduruvesi	{ Nakanoru { Talikimamana
2.	Mataivungalei	Mbukanitunga
3.	Veikau	{ Naseuvou { Vutuna { Takalai

[565]

Nanduruvesi are the nobles. Nanduruvesi is the Tui Naiau's oven emplacement; in other words, they make feasts there for the Tui Naiau. Veikau are the people of the land (*kai vunua*) and they worked for Tui Wathiwathi; they are also teeth (*mbati*). It was formerly a strong clan and counted two mighty men. The succession of Tui Wathiwathi has been: Jujua, Songgulu his "brother," Jujua's son, Songgulu's son, Songgulu's son's son.

[22]

621
614

Waitambu (Holy-spring) formerly planted food for Tui Wathiwathi, and joined that village in war. The village has the following clans and sides of the oven:

Nanggalitoka	{ Valeiloma { Navai
Rakuta	{ Ndakoro { Nanggalia { Matanawai
Lomaitilou	{ Lomaitilou { Nakambuta
Nggawaleka	{ Tandulu { Mbatiniwai { Nanduruvesi

[1] [For definition of tauvu, see cat. 116, pp. 199-201. -- Analyst]

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

The population of Wai ambu has never reached a hundred because the Matangi women do not wish it (p. 214). Waitambu as a whole is *tauvu* of Vakano as a whole, and of a clan of Wakai in Yaroi, Matuku. No reason is known for the connection with Wakai. Waitambu is also related to Moala. (For the connection with Mango and Vakano, see p. 215.)

In Nasangalau the clans and sides of the oven are:

Nakambuta	Naikelikeli
	Waipose
	Naivikula
	Navurewa
	Natonga
Nautonggumu	Vandrasikita
	Ndre
	Mbutha
	Naivithethere
Ndreketi	Nambavatu
	Mbautolu
Loma	Nanggaravea

Nakambuta lead; they are the nobles. Nakambuta and the nobles of Tumbou are one. The people of Nakambuta on that account often serve the High Chief, as did the father of the present Ramasi. Ratu Sikeli, whose mother was the elder sister of the present High Chief's father, is reckoned among the nobles of Tumbou. He is a bigger person than Ramasi, the chief, who belongs to Nakambuta. The present holder alone stood in the male line so he was put first. The Ramasi formerly did no planting, but sat in the house. If they planted taro it perished.

The herald of Nasangalau used to be in Ndreketi and Loma, but now he is in Nakambuta. Ndreketi and Loma are brothers; they are the owners of the land; their lands adjoin Tumbou on one side and Vakano on the other. The nobles of Nasangalau came from oversea and Nakambuta owe the land to their mothers. Nautonggumu are the "border" or "teeth" (*inbati*) and get the head of the pig.

The *tauvu* of Nasangalau are Waitovu in Ovalau, Tovulailai in Nairai, and Ndaku in Matuku. The precise clan to which they are *tauvu* is not known. Waitovu and Tovulailai are also *tauvu* to one another. Ketei in Totoya is the *tauvu* of Loma by reason of Raluve and Koilasa.

Yaroi in Matuku and Nasangalau are thorough kinsmen, kinsmen by birth. This is because Vakaotia was first married to a Tui Yaroi, chief in Matuku, and from her are descended the later Tui Yaroi. Then a nobleman of Nasangalau went over to Yaroi and brought her back as his wife, and from that arose the nobles of Nasangalau. Yaroi take precedence because their ancestor was born before the ancestor of Tui Nasangalau.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Fulanga and Nasangalau are also kinfolk because a forefather of the present Ramasi went to dwell in Fulanga. He was slain at the instigation of the nobles of Tumbou. The palms, creepers, and pumpkins that grow on the spot where he was killed are white; no grass will grow there. If the people of Fulanga are hard up they ask Ramasi to help them; he may go to Fulanga and beg for timber, and the district chief and his family will fell timber for one side of the house, while the village headman and his family fell for the other side.

Vakano is one of the smallest, if not the smallest, village in Lakemba. (See p. 216.) The clans and sides of the oven are:

Vandravua	Lomai
	Tiro
Malaka	Mataimalo
	Nakorolailai
Suthuve	Naivisalala
	Naivikatavio
	Natambuika
	Navutu

The people of Vakano suppose that the Tu ni Mata, as the chief used to be called, was a priest. If a noble came from Tumbou he called first on Tui Ra. (See p. 76.) The *tauvu* of Vakano are Waitambu and Ndravo. One ancient went to Ndrava, one to Waitambu; both were spirits.

In Nukunuku the clans and their sides of the oven are:

Lomanikoro	Nambulevu
	Nambulailai
	Nasea
Matakei	Matakei
	Ndralakaka
Mbete	Naviloaloa
	Nauturoaroa
	Nautopolo

Nambulevu is the clan of Tui Soso, Nambulailai of the heralds. (There are no more heralds.) One *tauvu* of Nukunuku is Thomo, a village in the island of Nggamea near Taveuni, because they have gods in common (*kalou vata*). Another *tauvu* is Naitaumbe because the two have one ancestor god.

Nukunuku is related to Oneata, Komo, and Namuka. To Oneata because the heralds Mandingi, Talimangimangi and their sister Uma of Nambulailai went over to Oneata. The people of Oneata saw they were strong planters and energetic, and so the island was given them to rule. To Komo because Naivi, a woman of Nukunuku, went to dwell in Komo. Namuka originates from Nukunuku because a lady of Nukunuku went to Namuka.

Narothake was always a small village. The foundations on the old site

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Narothake was always a small village. The foundations of the old site

621 602 604

number ten or six. The *tauvu* of Narothake is Notokalau in Ovalau, because of Mbatininggaka. The clans of the village are:

Vialailai	Vialailai
Vialevu	Nayala
	Nasikethi

In Yandrana the clans are:

Mbaumbunia	Nandawa	Thenu	Namana
	Lomanikoro		Mbutukoro
	Nasuthu	Sau	Mbutoisau
	Natalenggitawa		Nakorolailai
	Namolutu		
Yavalevu	Nautuutu		
	Natavua		
	Keloa		

622

The first seven Tui Yandrana were of Mbaumbunia; since then they have belonged to Thenu. The present Vaka is of Yavalevu. The Vaka is "The Speech of the Land" (*vosa ni vanua*). If the chief decides a thing he tells the Vaka to inform the people. The Tui Ra belongs to Thenu. Nasau and Yandua in the island of Ngau are *tauvu* to one another.

624 203 602

ISLANDS SUBJECT TO LAKEMBA

Relationship

631

The Fijian word for subject is *nggali;* Fison (4) connects it with *nggali* (to roll string). A *nggali* is therefore a strand of string and means properly a group of people, as in *matanggali,* a clan; but it usually conveys the idea of subjection. The land or chief that brings a country into subjection to another is said to "bring it to . . ."; or to "turn it round" (*vukitha*). There are various degrees: a people who are very much subject (*nggali sara*) obey (*vakarorongo*); the extreme is to be very serfs (*kaisi sara*), or a chief's very own men (*tamata ndina sara nga*). On the other hand, a land which goes to another may merely recognize its hegemony.

641

The Roko Sau rules all the villages of Lau. The islands of Thithia and Naiau are subject to Lakemba, but they stand apart from the rest of Lau. Oneata, Mothe, Kambara, Fulanga, and Ono each form a *matanitu*—a word which means literally "face of the chief," but may be translated as "state."

631 576 565

The people of these islands give the salutation called *tama* (p. 48) to the nobles of Lakemba; some salute the Tui Tumbou in this way, some do not; a few will do it for the Tui Nasangalau. They also clap when a noble washes his hands after a meal. Formerly they lowered their sails as they came into Tumbou and paddled to the anchorage; they walked about Tumbou with folded arms.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

636 they are able to fight with Lakemba. An army twice went against Ono.
721 Thithia also was twice attacked. A Thithia man explains:

> If a noble of Tombou went to Thithia, or a noble of Thithia went to Lakemba, he was snubbed. They were like bananas (*mbalembale vakavundi*) because neither was above the other, but both on a level. If Thithia was defeated it is because they ate Roko Nayatha, a nobleman of Lakemba, in the course of the wars; had they not done so they would never have been beaten.

602 The *tawtu* of Thithia is Kanathea. This is due to Ratumaimbulu. He is wor-
776 shipped both in Kanathea and in Tarukua. Vatuvara is also *tawtu*, also has gods in common (*tevoro vata*). Mbenga (Mbengga) is also *tawtu*: the nobles of Lakemba began; it spread to Thithia because it is considered to be Lakemban territory.

636 Besides "going to" Lakemba, Thithia "goes to" other Moala Islands; the village of Tokalau (Natokalau), to Totoya: Mambula and Tarukua, to Moala: Natheva and Lomati, to Matuku and Moala. They go by way of
[197] kinship only (as opposed to subjection). Their dialect is more after the Moala type, but spoken in a singsong way.

621
614 The chief village of Thithia is Mambula. Its clans are: Ngoneulu or
565 Turangaulu, Soso, Mambula, Nggelenggele, Walakewa, Lauva. Ngoneulu are noble, Soso are their equals, and Tui Thithia is appointed among them also. In Tarukua are two clans of nobles: Vunisea and Nggitawa, from among whom Tui Thithia can also be chosen. Soso goes with Nggitawa; they are brothers. Of old they all lived in Tarukua. The nobles have a common descent but have split up into sections. Mambula are the heralds of Tui Thithia. There are small heralds in the various villages. The other clans are the people of the land (*lewe ni vanua*).

The clans of Tarukua are: Sawana, Yarovi, Tarukualeka. Nggitawa are included in Yarovi: their fathers were there before. The Turangaulu and the Vunisea of Tarukua are in Sawana. The Vunisea of Mambula live with the Turangaulu of that place. An informant says,

> We the natives of Yarovi, are the noblemen's old men (*nggase*), but the Nggitawa lives with us and are installed as Tui Thithia. We are bastards (*i tathini*) to them; the bastards wait upon the noblemen; their fields are not used for feasts; they are for the use of the noblemen (*na kendratou nga*); but the fields of the nobles are used for feasts.

614 Yarovi is really a side of the oven. It is divided into two sections (*i*
565 *tokatoka*): Tiro and Nggilo. Some nobles are in Tiro, some in Nggilo; the descendants of the female line in Tiro, of the male line in Nggilo. If the descendants of the male line are extinct, the descendants of the female line or the bastards may be appointed.

Sawana is a clan, not a side of the oven. Its sides of the oven are: Yavuliku, Nasawa, Vanga. There are also sections (*i tokatoka*). Nasawa

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

and Yavuliku contain the bastards of Vunisea; Yavuliku also contains bastards of Turangaulu. The nobles of Vunisea are in Sawana. Vanga stands apart; one of them is appointed Tui Vanga. Turangaulu, Vunisea, Nggitawa are noble groups (*i tokatoka vakaturanga*).

Ngoneulu and Vunisea originate from Moala from the clan of Manukui. Nggitawa came from Vuna to Yathata, and Yathata to Thithia; among them was Lalinggavoka who became chief because he was strong. All the chiefs nowadays are chiefs by the strength of their hands, whereas the true chiefs live like common people. The village of Natheva holds the rank of *mbati*.

Southern Islands

Relationship

With the exception of Ono, it is not known how the Southern Islands came under Lakemban rule. There is no record of wars with these islands. The inhabitants say that they "went by kinship"; that is, that they became subject to Lakemba by being kinsmen of a lower rank. One informant probably preserves some of the facts when he says that Kambara formerly ruled over the Southern Islands; all the islands to the windward obeyed it; it was Kambara that brought the islands (except Ono) to Lakemba. In Viti Levu, too, is a tradition that Kambara was once chief in Lau; the rise of Lakemba came later.

Kambara is still chief (or noble) among the Southern Islands. For a big feast in which all the islands take part, the shares are called out in the following order: Kambara, Mothe, Oneata, Ono, Fulanga. There seems some uncertainty, however, about Oneata and Ono and I have heard Ono called before Oneata.

Kambara and its Dependencies

Kambara, a noble land, holds the rank of *mbati* (tooth or edge). That is, if Lakemba were not strong enough to fight a war, Kambara was called upon for assistance.

Vakawaluwalu of the clan of Nanggara, usually known as Tawaketini because he had ten flags, was a great chief in Kambara and flew a pennant all over Lau except Lakemba. He smote all the small islands in Lau, was made Tui Oneata, Tui Mothe, Tui Yandrana. A special connection exists between Yandrana and Kambara, referred to in several stories and insisted upon by the old men of Yandrana.

Nangalingali (Nggalinggali) usually known as Tanggu, was formerly the village from which Tui Kambara was most often chosen. The title is old,

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

pre-Christian. The clans of Nangalingali are: Naivotavota, Tanggu, Nanggora, Matai.

The Naivotavota and Tanggu are noble and descended from two brothers, Tanggu being descended from the eldest; but no one was made Tui Kambara. The ancestor of the two clans came from Uangava (Vuanggava). The third clan is "the Land"; the fourth, which is partly Tongan, is the carpenter's clan, and to it belong the Lemaki (p. 55).

There was much fighting between the villages of Nangalingali and Tokalau for the leadership in Christian times. The present Tui Kambara is of Tokalau.

Nukuloa in Vanua Levu is *tauvu* to Kambara on account of the ancestor-god. Kambara people at one time went to plant in Lakemba. On account of the ladies the people of Kambara used to go to Tanggalevu so in course of time Tanggalevu were made envoys to Kambara. Kambara is also connected with Totoya. There is a strong connection with Tonga because the Tongans formerly built canoes in Kambara.

Komo and Namuka are colonies of Kambara. Komo, a noble land before the inhabitants were killed off by Kambara and Totoya, now has only one village. It was settled from Kambara in fairly recent times. The clans are: Tuvana, Nukusea, Folo, Nasau.

Namuka has only one village, a large one, which was peopled from Nangalingali. Its clans are: Toiovu, Mbautolu, Nawatia, Taliku, Nasau, Nanggalitoka, Sawa. The first Tui Namuka dates from Christian times. Namuka and Matuku are closely related. Namuka goes to Nukunuku in Lakemba.

In Namuka the water is so scarce that in times of drought it is brought from neighboring islands.

FULANGA AND ITS DEPENDENCIES

Fulanga (Vulanga) is an exceedingly low-born land. Formerly when its people went to Kambara, Mothe, or Lakemba, they walked stooping with folded arms. The island constantly suffers from scarcity. The people are great fishermen and excel with the fish spear. Their hair is said to be fair as a result of their constant diving, but I have seen only one fair haired individual from this island. (See Pl. I, *H.*) Fulanga and Ketei in Totoya are *tauvu*. Ongea, Ono, Mothe, and Oneata are dependencies of Fulanga. Regarding these I have received the following from informants:

Ongea was once a noble (*turanga*) land. Its pennant was hoisted in some peculiar position aloft, whereas Fulanga flew its flag below. The old men of the island used to be known as "the holy elders" (*matua tambu*). When Tui Ongea was on board a

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929

OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

canoe, the sail was carried round by way of the outrigger with the result that the canoe stopped dead. Hence the rhyme:

Tui Ongea wiri kata:	The Chief of Ongea sits on the canoe;
Me kau saka i thama a latha.	Let the sail be carried on the outrigger.

Ongea ceased to be noble when Fulanga beat it in war. Since then its people are the lowest in Lau and very shy. When the Fulanga people go to Ongea and kill the fowls, and the natives go about with folded arms and stooping. The Ongeans call Fulanga, Mbauleka (Little Mbau), because it is to them as Mbau is to Fiji.

In Ono are two uninhabited islands, Tuvana i Tholo and Tuvana i Ra, the first belonging to the clan of Nukuni, the other to Lovoni.

The men of Ono were once red-skinned; now they are shorter and darker. The inhabitants of old were Tongans, judging from their present habits, for every day they prepare food with coconut cream and make an oven on the shore. Their physique is Tongan. [I have seen some very un-Fijian types in Ono, thick set with straight hair and Polynesian features.] They are good at enduring pain.

Ono has a system of levy called *vatongia;* if the chief fixes the rate of a feast at four yams, a man who has one piece of land contributes four, one who has two contributes eight and so on.

As a result of the murder of Niumataiwalu, the founder of the present Lakemban dynasty, war broke out between Matokana, the chief village, and Onolevu. Onolevu won and became chief instead of Matokana, he also became Envoy to Lakemba. A third village is called Ndoi.

Ono was settled peaceably by people from Wathiwathi, and all the clans of Wathiwathi are to be found in Ono. Vatoa was subject to Ono from of old; it is also, to a certain extent, descended from Wathiwathi. Ono used to "go to Wathiwathi" but Naiatha conquered it and "brought" Ono to Tumbou. Ono was formerly a land ignorant of chiefly ways. Now, following the example of their chiefs, they have learned manners and excel. Many Tongans reside in Ono.

Mothe is a noble land (*vanua vakaturanga*); but not originally, like Kambara; it became noble later because the inhabitants are true relatives of the nobles of Lakemba. Formerly the children of the Lord of Naiau intermarried with Mothe. It must have been daughters whose descendants live in Mothe, since the nobles of Lakemba intermarried equally with the other islands. Mothe and Navuanirewa are said to have a common ancestry (*kawavata*).

Oneata lies low and there is a marsh in the middle. At times the island swarms with mosquitos. The reef is called Mbatiyanitu. There are two villages on Oneata. Wainggore (?Wainggori) and Ndakuiloa. Of old there was only one. The clans of Wainggore are: Longaniu, Tavanga, Tumba, Waleti. Of Ndakuiloa they are Wako, Nakuli, Mbutha, Tumba. Mbutha, now extinct, were the heralds.

Oneata is not a noble land. The chief is called Tui Oneata (lord of Oneata) only since Christian times; it is the title of the district headman under the Government. The order of succession has been Mbalemalua of Tumba, Saiasa of Longaniu, Sakaraia of Tumba, Nathanieli of Longaniu. Longaniu takes precedence. The clans intermarry because they are cross-cousins.

The people do not clap hands when the chief of Oneata drinks kava. The present chiefs originated from Nukunuku in Lakemba; they came from overseas: it is so in all countries in Fiji. Two brothers came from Nukunuku; they came because they had a god in common (*tevoro vata*) with Oneata, called Tui Oneata. They were sister's sons (*vasu*) to Oneata. Manjingi, the younger, became chief; the late Tui Oneata, still living, was his grandson.

The present Lord of Oneata originates from Tonga. He is a descendant of Tui Afitu, who was a chief in Tonga. He went to Lakemba and married there. He had one daughter whom the people of Lakemba sent to Oneata. The descendants of Tui

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

622 Afitu went to Tahiti, and that was the occasion of Christianity coming, for the first missionaries from Tahiti settled in Oneata.

Oneata is divided in two. One half belong to Tui Tiro; he represents the true line of the land though they are not now chiefs. They helped the brothers from Nukunuku. The Lord of Tiro is Sauturanga; that is, he abides as a chief, but does not govern the land. He is like a father to his people. His rank is that of a Sau, that means that anything that is to be done is reported to him. If anything is to be taken to Lakemba, it will be told him at his house; if he does not approve, it will not be taken. If he goes to bathe [after his own installation] a pig will be slaughtered for the bathing. The Lord of Oneata would report to him were anything to be taken to Lakemba, Tui Tiro would say, "Very good, take something good." Tui Tiro would not report to Tui Oneata.

622 621 There is a title of Vakavanua in Oneata. Whoever is chief is the Envoy to Lakemba. Oneata is related to Nukunuku. It is related to the Levukans of Lakemba; with Matuku also, apparently because Levuka and Matuku are related. The people of Wainggore and of Vanua Mbalavu are connected lands (*vanua vata*) because the Oneatans took part in the siege of Nambavatu. Some women of Oneata were carried off from Kendekende in Lakemba by the people of Nakorotumbu; hence a relationship between Oneata and Nakorotumbu.

614 The priest clan of Oneata is *tauvu* to the clan of Nayanggona in Mualevu. (See p. 199.)

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF LAKEMBA

648 The relations of Lakemba with the great states of Mbau and Thakaundrove are obscured by natural tendency of men to exalt their own country, and to suppress a past inferiority. The truth must be gathered from incidents of history, the opinions of Europeans, and the frankness of a few Lauans.

The common view among Lakembans nowadays is that there were four lands (*vanua*) or states (*matanitu*) of old; four lands, that is, which lead, which know the ways of nobles. They are, in order of their importance, Mbau, Rewa, and Thakaundrove, which are much on an equality, and Lakemba. Rewa is sometimes omitted because Lakemba and Rewa were not acquainted. Everywhere outside Lau only the first three are mentioned. Neither European authorities nor Joshua reckon Lakemba among the great states. The truth is Mbau, Thakaundrove, and Lakemba were related through their nobility and were lands that had intercourse of which the goods passed from one to the other. They were with Rewa lands of much ceremonial.

Apparently in the early days Lakemba and Lauthala held intercourse. Lauthala was once an important state. Lakemba also held intercourse with Vuna of old; the relations with Mbau developed later. The chief of Vuna says, "Lakemba are men here" (are subject to this country).

It seems probable that it was as the successor of Vuna that Thakaundrove entered into relations with Lakemba, since Niumataiwalu's mother was a lady of Vuna but he himself married a lady of Thakaundrove, and from

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

The Lord of Naiau was accompanied on his journeys by a man or two of Wathiwathi, who made kava for him; it was the duty of the people of Waitambu and Vakano to make the oven. Some say Yandrana should also, but the men of Yandrana deny it: "Yandrana," they say, "did not use to make the oven for warming up the Chief's food: that is the duty of Wathiwathi and Waitambu, who belong to the same side (*i tambani*) as the nobles. Yandrana is *mbati*, and does not come near the preparation of food. It is the duty of Navuaira to prepare the oven; they are the side (*i tambani*) of the nobles; my duty is different; if there is disorder in any place, and Roko Sau sends me to see the temper of that country I shall go in spite of thunder, rain, and death, because it is my duty."

Lauans suffer from home sickness (*tailasa*); there are parts of Fiji where men are inclined to wander abroad; not so in Lau because they are comfortable and their islands have a charm for them. One man thus describes his feelings in Tonga: "Both my body and my soul were homesick because they have different customs there. I did not like the way they prepared meals. If a man is homesick in Tonga let him not go down to the beach and see the setting sun; there is not a bit of his soul that remains in Tonga: it is all in Fiji." A man will become homesick if he sees "the clouds of his country."

No Lauan ever goes to a place where he has no relatives, unless it is in the service of the church or the State. A knowledge of pedigrees is therefore useful. The most roundabout relatives are made use of: thus a boy of Malaka, Vanua Mbalavu, received a present of oil from a man of Lomati in Thithia because his father had some relation with the village of Muamua, Vanua Mbalavu, which is a tribal cross-cousin (*tauvu*) to Lomati.

Two strangers may start a relationship by agreement. Thus a Matuku family having hospitably entertained a Tongan in Moturiki became related to him and was told to seek his house when they came to Lakemba. Or one man may recommend another to the care of his relatives.

A distinction is made between state kinship (*veiwekani vaka turanga*), and kinship through common descent (*veiwekani kawa vata*). State kinship connects two places by the intermarriage of their nobilities; by common descent the two places or families have a common ancestry.

A man who has in him the blood of the nobility of one place is said to be noble in that other place: thus the nobles of Mualeva are noble in Lakemba. This expression is apt to mislead Europeans who translate "they are chiefs in Lakemba" or "over Lakemba," whereas it merely means that they belong to the Lakemban nobility by reason of the eldest daughter of Niumataiwalu, from whom they are descended. It means very much the same as "being native of a place" only applied to countries that have nobilities (p. 57).

The word *vulangi*, besides meaning stranger, also means guest; indeed it always seems to involve the idea of a sojourner in the land; a foreigner plain and simple is *kai tani* (man of elsewhere).

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

wangga there is no precedence, because they have different mothers. The reason why I do not speak in Salesi's presence is that Salesi comes first in Vatuwangga, because Kilai, Salesi's father's father, was Taliai's eldest son. The reason why I may not speak to Liwaki is that he is a descendant of Malani, the eldest son of Rasolo. Liwaki may not speak to Ratu Finau, the High Chief, because Liwaki is the son of a younger brother. Yet Salesi may converse with Liwaki because they are brothers through their mothers.

595
565

Thus the statement that there is no precedence in the clan must be qualified: there are certain persons whose birth makes them great within the clan. Thus the late Rasolo, the third Lord of Naiau's daughter's son, was reported to have been a strong-minded man, perhaps because he prided himself on his rank: his mother was the daughter of Taliai, older than all the children of Taliai except the eldest son. In jest I was set down as Melaia Lutu's son, and told on that account I might send on errands the son of Melaia's "little sister"—by European reckoning, a cousin. The rank and file of the descendants of Niumataiwalu, ancestor of the nobility, however, lived on terms of easy familiarity.

614 ●
554

The avoidance between own brothers seems to be connected in the minds of the people with the avoidance of brother and sister. The same avoidance as that between brother and sister is exercised between aunt and nephew, aunt and niece, uncle and niece, as between uncle and nephew, and between a man and his wife's mother, whether *veivungoni* are uncle and nephew or father-in-law and son-in-law. Respect is paid to the father's sister if she is older than the father, but not if she is younger. A woman will use respectful language (*vaka rokoroko*) to her elder brother's son. I could hear of no special functions of the father's sister.

593
604

According to Lakemban custom, a man does not use terms of respect to the mother's brother if the mother is the elder, whereas in Viti Levu the polite adverb *saka* is user regardless of precedence. The High Chief's elder sister's eldest son is greater than his uncle, because his mother is the elder sister, but he follows the Mbauan custom, not being acquainted with the Lauan; he uses the term *saka* and the second person plural in addressing his uncle; he generally sits at the lower end of the house while his uncle sits at the top. The Chief can speak to his nephew, but "it is difficult for his nephew to answer." They only could converse in private. The Chief on the other hand used the second person plural to his nephew, but not the word *saka*; he would keep away from the school grounds because his nephew was there. They never walked together, though indifferent as to which of them went first. Sometimes at kava the High Chief would pass on his cup to his nephew.

The mother's people are frequently referred to collectively as "your uncles" and a man would be told to "get a wife, as is fitting, from your uncles."

601

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

The village of Lakemba is said to be hard to beat at cricket, because it is the dwelling place of Roko Sau.

Lakemba is called *a yatho,* "one that has arrived," because it is the place where Roko Sau dwells.

One informant draws a picture of an ideal chief:

> Of old, Tui Naiau was as our father. If people wanted manufactured articles they went and begged of him. The people of Lakemba went to the nobleman on whom they leaned for support, and he would take them with their small feast to Big House. It was hard for the chief to refuse a thing: all the food brought to him was distributed among them all.

The chief's dues were described by the following terms:

> If a chief wanted a thing he told a village to do it. This is called *lala.* [May be translated as requisition, statute labor corresponding to the Sinhalese *rajakariya,* "King's work."] The chief had to feed the people who worked for him, and the feast so made was called *otho.* Formerly a chief killed himself with work on account of his requisitions because he had to attend to the men who came to do statute labor for him.
>
> The *vatongia* of Tui Naiau is defined as "making feasts, statute labor, house building." Formerly, it consisted in planting once a year; for the rest of the year there were only feasts.

The *vakathavathava* is somewhat vague because the Tongans changed so much. It was said to have been a big feast once a year. Each village in turn brought a feast. The term is now used of taxes.

MINOR CHIEFS OF TUMBOU

The head of each clan usually bears a title, which, like that of the High Chief, tends to pass from elder to younger brother. A clan is more commonly designated by the title of their head than by its name. Thus the clan of Narewandamu is usually spoken of as the heralds, or envoys to Mbau.

The name of the clan of Vale Lailai means the little house as opposed to the Big Door. Two divisions of Little House, namely Tandravula, now extinct, and Narewandamu, are called *mata ni vanua,* "Face of the Land," a term which I propose to translate "heralds." They are the "speech of the nobles." They receive or present food and stuff at feasts and are generally masters of ceremonies. These functions are called *veinggaravi,* from *nggara* "to face," "attend on," "serve," all meanings derived from the fact that in a ceremonial two parties always face one another. The heralds are also envoys to Mbau, and are oftener addressed as Matakimbau than as Matanivanua.

Katumbalevu proper are "indoor heralds" (*mata ni vanua i vale*). They

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

614
L24

have nothing to do with feasts out of doors, but only when these are brought in to the Lord of Naiau. The share that falls to the Lord of Naiau they divide. They do not speak out of doors; Narewandamu speak out of doors. They are described as "the Land of Navuanirewa" as opposed to the "Land" pure and simple, that is Tumbou.

The heads of Katumbalevu proper and of Narewandamu are the Lord of Naiau's "old men." They should be in his presence every day.

Thekena is spoken of as "the Land" in contradistinction to the nobles. The title, Vakavanua, the adjective of *vanua* (land), is usually shortened to Vaka. One tradition relates that he was the chief of old; but the High Chief declined and became Vaka.

The chief of Tanggalevu is called Tui Tumbou. The title was given to a member of the oldest generation, but of the lesser "edge of the oven." The head of the senior branch was addressed and officiated as Lord of Tumbou in the absence of the real one. The original functions of the Lord of Tumbou are not known, but at present he fulfills most of the functions of a herald, excepting the distribution of feasts. It was he who apportioned the kava and directed the reception of high officials. He is the "mouth of Tui Naiau." The High Chief does not speak; the Lord of Tumbou speaks. It was said that the third Lord of Naiau appointed the Lord of Tumbou to this office in place of the heralds who had a bad name for murdering chiefs. The Lord of Tumbou also bears the title of Ramasi, Sir Cloth.

An informant says:

> Vakavanua, the Land Chief, is higher than the Lord of Tumbou. If there is a fight and the heralds go to stop it and do not succeed the Lord of Tumbou will go. If he fails, the Land Chief will go; when he appears, all things cease. The Lord of Tumbou and the Land Chief are weighty delayers of anger. The nobles may not hit each other in presence of the Land Chief, the Lord of Tumbou, or a herald. If the High Chief wants to sleep and his household or the herald comes and tells the Chief and utters the name of Land Chief of Lord of Tumbou, when he hears it, it is hard for him to lie down again on his bed: he knows it is something serious.

I know of no title in Tuware. This clan were the *mataivalu kalou*, that is, "spirit battalion." They went first in war and though all Lakemba retreated, they still advanced.

One Tongan bears the title of Moala, which is said to mean navigator.

The Tongan term *matapule* is constantly used to denote these minor chiefs. Strictly speaking, *matapule* is the equivalent of the Fijian *mata ni vanua* or herald, but it is said to be "a polite word for old men." I have heard the Fijian *matanivanua* used in the extended sense, for instance, for the chief of Levuka. They are also called "chiefs of the land," or "old men of the land." Any of them could intercede with the High Chief on behalf of an offender. Formerly they were treated with respect. The children

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

of the High Chief were respectful to them. They cooked for them on board. If they foregathered there was no youth there. The noble youth was of no use in the affairs of the country. The old men drank kava and ruled the land; a noble youth would not be present unless it were to make kava. Later on he would be able to pronounce upon matters: he would know what the men of old had decided.

The custom of "bearing the Sau" or "lifting the Sau" (*thola Sau*) has been discontinued. It is described thus:

> The Chief formerly had a nobleman to "bear his reign," to work for his reign. He bore the stress of it, the Chief leaned upon him. If the father dies, the Chief appoints one of his sons to bear for him, to be his hand and mouth."

Tione Wesele filled this office because he was energetic, enterprising, and brave. The Lakembans feared him because of his energy. If at a ceremonial kava, a lowborn man went to the top of the ring or did something wrong, Tione Wesele would drag him out. If a bad feast were sent in, he would send it back, or seize and whip the givers.

Carpenters, called *matai*, are highly respected in Lau. Two men, Tiafau [4] and Lemaki, coming at different times to Lakemba, established two houses of hereditary carpenters, the titles and the positions of carpenters to nobles. In the Lemaki family the title passes from father to eldest son.

The Tiafau family, who came from Tonga in Christian times, were originally heralds to the Tui Tonga, and later achieved the craft by the skill and strength of their hands. They were experts in making drums (*nafa*).

Lemaki was originally a chief in Manono, in Samoa. With a relative, Leha, he went to Tonga to seek timber for a war canoe; there, hearing of timber in Fiji, they went to Lakemba, and took up their residence with the nobles. For, Lemaki's son having been killed in Ono, as the price of blood and price of work, the nobles of Lakemba asked his family not to return to Samoa, and gave them the land of Lekutu, where they still live.

A clan of Lemaki is in Nggalinggali; some of the family are in Taveuni and Nairai.

The first Lemaki was succeeded by Manokotiale, his son, for in this family the son of the chief wife (*alewa mbau*) is the successor; not the brother, as in Fiji. His son Vulivuli joined the Naivi faction and was killed in the civil war in Naiau. His other son, Maopo, succeeded. He had seventy wives.

Of old the Lemaki merely superintended the work; but later descendants worked with their hands. The Lemaki did not plant but served the nobles, which gave him the right to appropriate pigs, yams, or reserve a crop for himself; he could do so anywhere in Lau, whether the crop belonged to a

[4] Or Taunga, I am not certain as to the title.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

554
●414
463

noble or a commoner. In return for this he built canoes for the people. This continued under the late Tui Naiau during the building of the Fane, a canoe in honor of Fane, the daughter of Ratu Erone who protected Lemaki in the exercise of his right, but cautioned him not to impose it on the common people who might prosecute him, but only on the nobles who dare not object.

VILLAGE CHIEFS OF LAKEMBA

622

In each village there is a chief usually bearing the title of Tui. The chiefs are spoken of as "the old men of the countryside." Except the Lord of Nasangalau and Tui Soso of Nukunuku, they are not honored in Tumbou, but only in the country.

The chief of Nasangalau is usually known as Ramasi, Sir Cloth. He is the cloth for Natokalau,[5] whereas the Lord of Tumbou is the cloth for Navuaira. The *masi* are those that rule the land. Formerly the two "Cloths" would discuss anything that was intended, war, a potlatch, a feast. When they had decided they reported to the Lord of Naiau, who approved. The chief of Nasangalau also bears the title of Tui Natokalau. It is doubtful whether the third title of Tui Nasangalau is ancient. One man says the chief is first called Tui Nasangalau, then installed as Ramasi.

Except the people of Nasangalau, no one in the North salutes this chief with the *tama;* but they all use this salutation in front of the door of Ralovo, who lives in Nasangalau but whose mother was a great lady of Tumbou.

Vakano is a lowborn village. They go about Natokalau with folded arms. The chief is now called Tui Vakano, but of old there was no such title, because a god was called Tui Vakano. The old title was Tui ni Mata, Lord of the Face. Evidence from Vanua Levu shows this to mean "Lord of the Grave."

The chief of Nukunuku is called Tui Soso, Lord of the Field, after a large extent of low land near the village. The people of Tumbou say there was a god called Tui Nukunuku, but the people of the place know nothing of this. The present chief is a Tongan. The nobility of Nukunuku is extinct. Formerly Tui Soso was a man of importance and could wear a turban in Tumbou.

Yandrana are not lowborn like Vakano. They are termed the *mbati ki Lakemba*, that is, "teeth" or "edge for Lakemba." "They stand on the edge; the nobles lean upon them." They fight for Lakemba. The old title of the chief is said to have been Vata ni Tawake. The present one of Tui Yandrana is a government one.

[5] *Masi ki Natokalau* not *ni*, of; *ni* is never used in this expression.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

LAND AND PROPERTY

423 Title of land is a very delicate subject, consequently my information is scanty and unsystematic. Land which was once freely given away, has now become most valuable on account of the price of copra. To put an end to the quarrels that arose out of land, the Government appointed a Lands Commission to settle the claims. But the method of public inquiry so well adapted to the outspoken British temperament, is quite unsuited to a people who will on no account contradict a chief or a person of quality, and whose great weakness, as they themselves acknowledge, is "Fijian shame" (*mandua vakaviti*), an unconquerable aversion to haggling, disputing, or of saying no to a kinsman.

423 614 The lands in the valleys (*soso*) are held in common by the clan; any member of the clan can plant in clan lands without leave, but a stranger may not.

The lands on the coast formerly belonged to the "sides of the oven." The rents on certain leases are still paid to the "side of the oven." In the reign of Taliai Tupou, Maafu the Tongan, who virtually ruled Lau, divided the land individually among all the adults; those who were children at the time received no land, so they shared that of the father or brother. The eldest controls (*lewa*) the land, arranging about the planting, deciding where each brother should have his garden, and directing the work. Land is held in common also by more distant kinsmen, but under the control of one man.

It is not true then to say that there is individual ownership of property in Lau. The only result of the division has been that the land instead of being held in common by the clan, is now held in common by groups each representing descendants of one who was adult at the time of the division.

It is vain to look for definite rules of succession or any other acquirement of land. A clan forms one vast family where land matters are "discussed as between kinsmen"; and there is much begging, and conceding. It often happens that a man cannot tell why a certain man holds a piece of land, because it is a private arrangement. Nor can they always say what will become of the land after the owner's death.

[597] Adopted children do not inherit land unless there are no offspring. The heirs may, however, decide to let the adopted child get land.

423 562 Women do not own land. The son-in-law of the only survivor of Tuware had to bring presents to his father-in-law in order to have permission to take his land. The head of a clan held that it would be right for him to provide land for a spinster or the wife of a man of another clan if she were a widow, for widows return to their clan. Women can, however, get land by

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

arrangement. Thus Taraivosa got the land of her father, Mburua of Natokatoka, for her son; Mburua on his death had given it to one Tokai of Vatuwangga; when Tokai died it passed to Rasolo, also of Vatuwangga, who was "brother" to Tokai; Taraivosa begged the land for her son, and Rasolo promised to give it as soon as her son began to pay taxes. 423 562

A man gets land through his mother if he comes to live with his mother's people. 423

Though in some cases it looks at first sight as though land had passed out of the clan, this does not actually happen. Thus Joshua and his people lived on land which his father had begged from Lemaki, the hereditary carpenter; but Lemaki holds land from the nobles only so long as he lives in Lakemba. Tiope of the clan of Ndaulakemba in Levuka held the land of Osea of the clan of Manukuira, because they had lived together, and Tiope was working off Osea's debts; nevertheless the land was spoken of as belonging to Osea's son, a boy of about thirteen.

If a member of the clan dies without issue his land reverts to his "edge of the oven." Ratu Finau however had all the edges of the oven put down as one in the Lands Enquiry so that now the land reverts to Katumbalevu as a whole. 423 614

It was definitely laid down that land could not go out of the clan except as *wa ni kuna*, the strangling rope, *ka ni mbula*, the price of life, or as *i thoxithovi ni ndraundrau*, the wherewithal to pluck leaves for plates. The strangling rope is land given to kinsmen of a deceased nobleman's wife for strangling her at his death. The price of life is land given by a man to one who has saved his life. The wherewithal to pluck leaves is land given away as a woman's dowry; the land is supposed to keep her supplied with banana and breadfruit leaves on which to place the food. Such land is also called *i kaukau ni alewa* (that which is brought with a woman). 425 [566] [583]

It was indeed said that a lady marrying a "small man" would also bring a dowry, and I know of one such case where the father of a lady of Naivi gave some land when she married a man of Levuka; the land is now held by the man's son. But this does not appear to be a common practice, for I was told that the reason why a lady does not bring land to the "landsmen" is that her people have no land to give. The Chief of Nasangalau says the same of his village: the nobles there had no land but what they got from other clans through their mothers. 425 583 565

A nobleman will sometimes perform what is called *vakalutulutu*, causing to fall; this is a present of manufactured articles to his son's maternal uncles, in order to "make the land fall"—that is, to get land for his son. Meli, the head of Naivi, thus got land from his mother's clan, Tumbou; 425 604 565

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

band will send a whale's tooth for her to return and her relatives will make a feast to send her back with; this feast is called the conveyance (*i kaukau*).

A woman becomes of the clan of her husband. Only women are transferred; men stay. In practice a woman works with her husband's clan, but upon being asked to what clan she belongs, she will name that in which she was born. On her husband's death a woman returns to her original clan. Sometimes a man goes to live in his wife's country. It is then said that "she brought him over."

The wife goes to the home of her parents to give birth to her children, and usually remains with them for a year or longer after a child is born. During this time she may not resume cohabitation with her husband. It is said that a Fijian woman will die if she is pregnant three times, each time before the previous child is strong. A Fijian widow whose wife has died in childbirth is looked upon askance. If a woman contracts the abdominal disease called *ndrami ni tangane*, which is caused by the husband cohabiting too soon after childbirth, and if she dies in consequence people will dissuade girls from marrying him.

Birth Ceremonial

A first child, called a new child (*ngone vou*) is the occasion for much more ceremony than attends the birth of subsequent children. There is no feast when conception first appears, but the mother stays in the house, for a number of months given variously as three, four, six, or eight; she does not cut her hair or bathe. She is taken care of during her pregnancy lest the foetus move and miscarry. This is done for the eldest child only. After eight months her people make an oven on the shore and she goes to fish. A feast called the bathing of the pregnant mother (*i silisili ni mbukete*) is prepared, at which the fish she catches are roasted and served, called *i tatavu*. The people of Levuca called this feast "causing to appear" (*vakavotu*). The prospective mother then cuts her hair and throws it away, after which she may resume hard work.

A pregnant woman may not anoint another person's eyes with medicine as it causes soreness of the eyes.

Except for the child of the High Chief a man may be present at the birth, but usually only the father is. It is forbidden to announce the approach of travail in the village or the labor will be difficult. The after-birth is buried. The newborn child is bathed. The child is not again bathed until the fourth day.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

VANUA MBALAVU

LOMALOMA

Vanua Mbalavu, the main island of the archipelago shown on the Hydro- 631
graphic charts as "Exploring Islands," consists of two districts or states. Lomaloma and Mualevu, each independent of the other; but Lomaloma is of low rank while Mualevu is noble in both Thakaundrove and in Lakemba. Formerly the islands of Mango and Tuvutha belonged to Lomaloma and when Mango was sold to Europeans, its people were transferred to the villages of Malata (Nalamata) and Ndakui.

The chief village of Lomaloma is Lomaloma. It has a Fijian quarter 621
divided into Nggala, Mbutha, and Naturuku; and a Tongan quarter known as Sawana. The whole of Lomaloma is divided between Nggala and Mbutha: the villages of Levukana, Narothivo, and Susui are subject to Nggala; Ndakuilomaloma, Tuvutha, Uruone, Malata and Mango are subject to Mbutha. Levukana is the household (*lewe ni vale*) in Nggala. Tuvutha is the household of the Rasau (p. 226); they are directly his men; they may come into his house as may also the heralds of Ndakui; others must sit outside.

The clans of Lomaloma are as follows: 614
565

Nggala: (*a*) Nandawavula; (*b*) Nukuthiri, merely nobles, cannot become Ravunisa; (*c*) Mbotembote, the heralds of the Ravunisa; (*c*) Naitasiri.

Mbutha: (*a*) Valelevu; (*b*) Naivindrawalu; (*c*) Namasokithake; (*c*) Sinumana.

Naturuku: (*a*) Naitokandamu; (*b*) Nandave; (*c*) Naraka.

Nggala and Mbutha are equal. Formerly the feasts were divided in two and Nggala was called first. Each clan divided its feasts among its subjects. Nowadays, a district feast is divided among the villages, Sawana being called first, because the district chief belongs there. The people of Naturuku belong to neither Mbutha nor Nggala; they live by themselves on the shore, and the neighboring islands belong to them.

If a man's father comes from one noble clan into the "center of the village," and his mother from another, he is termed a "home nephew" (*vasu i tuakoi*). He is a very great nobleman.

There are four ranks in the clan of Naturuku: Tui Naturuku, his Vaka, his Takala, his Herald, or Tui Ra. These are they who obey Tui Naturuku: Takala, the Takala of the feast; Vaka, the Vaka of his word; the herald, the herald of Tui Naturuku. The Herald sits with the feast but the Takala faces the feast.[1]

Naivindrawalu are now the priests of Tuilambelambe, the god of Valelevu. He is a god in Yandrana also.

Mbutha's *tauvu* is Kelo in Yandrana: Nggala's *tauvu* is Mboma in Taveuni, but since the Lands Enquiry this has been extended to the whole village.

The chief of Nggala is Ravunisa of the clan of Nandawavula. The chief of 643
Mbutha is Rasau in the clan of Valevalu. The Ravunisa takes precedence, he rules the land; the Rasau is next in rank, the Tui Tumbou is second to the Tui Naiau. They cooperate. Of old, each ruled his part of the town and of the land, and grouped the

[1] In Lomaloma the title Tu is used for Ratu. "They make a great use of titles."

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

643 the sea; then the crying of the children and the cutting of firewood is allowed. The Rasau returns to Lomaloma.

MUALEVU

197 The dialect of Mualevu is that of Thakaundrove. Some clans drop the
[194] *k*, or rather reduce it to a glottal stop. They say *thawa 'ila;* the others say *thawa kila.*

621 In precedence the villages rank as follows: Mualevu, Mavana, Ndalithoni alias Ndaku perhaps comes third, then perhaps Avea, then Muamua, Thikobia (Thikombia-i-Lau), Mboitathi. The people of Avea formerly
565 lived in the island of Munia which was sold to white men. Munia was noble of old; the chiefs sprang from there. There was one branch of nobles in Mualevu; but it declined and a branch of nobles from Munia was set up instead.

614 The old name of the village of Mualevu was Yaro. The clans are
556 described as follows:

Mualevu, the clan of the high chief (Sau). Lomati are like Mualevu; they are nobles but are not appointed high chiefs. They are Envoys to Thakaundrove, and the title of their chief is Ratu Mataki, "Sir-Envoy-to"; Likusongea are envoys to Lomaloma. Nautu are the tribe of Tui Yaro; formerly they were noble, but once they cooked turtle in Vatuvula and the chief of Mualevu was angry and smote them and so they declined until the present day. In those days the tribe of Tui Yaro kept "the cloth of the land".

Nayanggona are heralds; Nalawa, Natuvu, Wailailai, Nambureto, Nandave are plain clans.

[576] The *tama* salutation used by the men of Mualevu is *"mai o!"*; by the women *"mai no vakandua!"* The chiefs of Mualevu are called Tui Mavana. The present one is called only Sau; he has not yet been installed as Tui Mavana.

621 It is said that Mavana was the chief village of old, but Mualevu beat them. There are facts which point that way; all the old things such as the fish caught in nets (*ika tanga*) are in Mavana, none in Mualevu; all state ceremonial (*ka vakaturanga*) emerges from Mavana; the frontiers of Mavana come very close to Mualevu; there is a passage called the Mavana passage. Another inform[illegible]ays it was the chief village until beaten by Ndaku who gave the title of Tui Mavana to Mualevu.

643 The people of Mavana come to install the Tui Mavana, which is done as follows:

All the people assemble with a feast and pile it up in the village Green. The chief with the herald comes and sits down. All the people have retired to the bush, and no beating of bark cloth is allowed. The people of Mavana prepare the kava of the Chief (*yanggona si tu*) on the village Green. From the time they prepare to squeeze it it is forbidden for any one to come that way, or he will be fined. Men stand with clubs and mount guard: there is not an installation ceremony at which this is not done. While the kava is being made ready, the cloth of the land is tied on the chief's right arm.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

The herald speaks to him, "This is the cloth of the land, the cloth of Tui Mavana. 643
The kava for it stands ready. You will drink it today to be Tui Mavana. I am here tying the cloth thereof that you may love the land, love the men, that you may speak kindly, that you have have a good name in your whole land hereafter."

The kava is poured out for the chief; he drinks. The second goes to the herald.

When the kava on the Green is finished they withdraw to the house called Nasima, and take off the cloth. The Nasau, Takala, the herald, and the old men of Mavana hold Tui Mavana in their laps in turn for four nights. While they are nursing him it is forbidden to talk, or beat bark cloth in the village; crying children are taken away. At the end of this time he bathes in the sea and the people of Mavana make a feast: it is their retiring feast (*i vakasuka*). The chief is then called Tui Mavana.

The island of Thikombia has one village and three clans: Namarai, 614 ●
Nasau, Yatunakoro. The chief is called Tui Thikombia, an old title like Tui 622
Munia. The present one is a descendant in the male line of the Mualevu nobles and is spoken to respectfully by Tui Mavana; of old he flew a pennant in Mualevu. The chief of Mualevu installs Tui Thikombia. The kava faces Tui Thikombia: he drinks first, then the herald, then Tui Mavana. The herald, who belongs to Nasau, admonishes the Tui Thikombia.

The whole of the Moala group is *tauvu* of Vanua Mbalavu, also of Ngau, 602
or only of Sawayeke in Ngau. Lomati is *tauvu* of Thikombia, and Munia of Mavana.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

cross-cousins and *tauvu*, are marked by violent appropriation, and studied insolence. So essential is this violence that having forgotten why Ono and Thithia are *veitambani* of Lakemba the people say it is because they could fight with Lakemba: the violence is all that is remembered of the ancient bond. There is nothing of the kind in the relations between Tai and Tumbou. But in the first place the cross-cousinship, if it did exist, of the two sides has become completely obscured; and secondly *tauvu* tribes live at a distance from one another and when they are described as plundering one another it is always with a state visit in mind. Cross-cousins do not commit the excesses of the *tauvu* because they live side by side and so could not keep it up, or else their visits are individual, and finally it is evident that the custom has become much attenuated since modern relations do not involve the excesses of the ancient ones that go back to the gods. There is, however, a certain amount of rivalry between Tai and Tumbou, though Tumbou is hopelessly outclassed.

In the Banks Islands, society is divided into two intermarrying halves which are in opposition to one another; one claims to be "versed in social lore" and peaceful, and accuse the other of being ignorant, quarrelsome, and unimportant (12, vol. 1, p. 22); now the nobles in Lau are versed in social lore and are gentle in their manners, but the land, especially the vanguard, are reputed to be rough in their ways; they are also comparatively unimportant.

The *solevu* or ceremonial exchange seems to be essentially a custom of intermarrying tribes: it is always held between tribes that are related, i. e., intermarry; it is marked by keen competition and by horse-play and jesting between men and women.

CLANS

In the Banks Islands each half is subdivided: these divisions are called *veve*, just like the halves. So in Fiji each side is called a *matanggali*, is divided into *matanggali*. The subdivisions of the Banks Islanders are each under a god called *vui*, just as the Fijian clans are under a *vu*.

The Fijian clans have different functions and could therefore be grouped as castes. There is the noble caste corresponding to the Indian raja, the heralds or councillors equivalent to the Indian Brahmans, the land, the vanguard, carpenters, fishermen, house servants (*kai vale*).

SUCCESSION

The order of succession presents this peculiarity, that the chieftainship alternated between two branches of the chiefly family. This is true in Tumbou, Yaroi, Ketei, Oneata. In Oneata it was definitely laid down that

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

social organization based on clans[10] living in hamlets. The group was cooperative, not competitive, and political power was in the hands of the old men. The aborigines were apparently not cannibals. They were a relatively peaceful group. Traces of the "land people" are found throughout the Lau islands, especially on the island of Fulanga. This island has relatively less arable soil than any inhabited island in southern Lau. Hence it has not been coveted by newcomers seeking wealth and power. Moreover, of all the inhabited islands in southern Lau, Fulanga is least accessible to foreign influence on account of the lack of a good anchorage.

Several generations ago a fierce and cannibalistic group, Polynesian in racial type and culture, arrived in the Lau islands. According to traditions the newcomers came from northeast Viti Levu in two groups, one settling on Moala, south of the Koro sea, and the other on the adjacent island of Totoya and on Kambara in southern Lau. The natives say that this group brought "light", meaning a more elaborate culture, to the "darkness" of the aborigines. The immigrants married women of the "land people", and besides mixing the two racial strains acquired land thereby, and founded their own clans. These clans formed the "chief group" or upper class of nobles, outranking the clans of the aborigines which formed the lower class or commoners. The nobles organized society in Lau on the basis of rank, and set their war leaders at the top of a sort of secular hierarchy. Rank was based on "mana", that is, creative power acquired from deified ancestors of the chiefs. The newcomers were sailors and warriors. They built a fleet of large double canoes of Kambaran hardwood and fortified the strategic high points on the island by means of tiers of stone walls and ramparts. The ruins of these defenses may be seen today.

[10] The term "clan" is used in this study to designate a unilateral kinship group. Instead of tracing descent through both father and mother, as in our "family" or bilateral kinship group, a man reckons his descent through one parent only. Lauan clans are patrilineal, that is a man traces descent through his father and belongs to his father's clan.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

occasionally run away and live together in the bush. At the end of our stay in Tokalau, canoes arrived from Mothe to take a young woman of the village to Mothe to be married. In the morning the girl was nowhere to be found, and it was discovered that she had run away to the bush with a young man. The Mothe canoes had to return without the bride. The pair usually stay away until the anger of their relatives and especially of the young man's father has somewhat abated. At first they are berated in the village, but gossip soon dies away. When the pair return to the village they are accepted as man and wife. A wedding feast may or may not be held.

Marriages differ in size and importance according to the status of the inter-marrying clans. The marriage feasts and ceremonial gifts not only reflect but also determine the social status of the participating clans, who try to outdo each other in the quantity and splendor of their gifts. It is, however the young man's clan which in the long run contributes the larger quantity of food and property. The man's clan sets the date for the ceremonies, which are usually held in harvest season when food is readily available.

The marriage of a couple belonging to low ranking clans is a small affair, but that of a couple belonging to clans of high social standing involves the exchange of large amounts of property and the consumption of quantities of food. Preparations for the wedding feasts and ceremonies are begun months ahead by both the youth's and the girl's relatives. The work is shared by the men, who are responsible for the garden produce contributed by both sides for the marriage feasts, and by the women, who provide the barkcloth and mats for the affinal exchanges. An important wedding is discussed far and wide, and is attended by relatives from many villages and islands. The marriage of a high chief at Lakemba is a historic event, and a drain on the economic resources of the whole group. It is attended by representatives

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

614
505
554

of the leading clans of Lau who present food and property from every village in the group.

I attended a wedding in Naivindamu (pronounced Nai-vi-en-dá-mu), a small Fulangan village of sailors and fishermen, and was told that the wedding was a very poor one, chiefly due to the low rank and poverty of the intermarrying clans. It was also somewhat irregular, because none of the close relatives of the bride, who came from Vatoa, a small island about 48 miles south of Fulanga, were present, and because the bride was pregnant. The usual Christian marriage ceremony in the mission church had been performed six months before, and the young couple had been living together in the house of the groom's father, but the native wedding rites had been delayed until sufficient food and property could be accumulated. Usually in Lau a Christian marriage ceremony takes place on the day of the wedding before the native rites.

Three days before the wedding, preparations for the feast began in the village, and a large sailing canoe set out for Namuka to collect kava, tobacco, yams, and barkcloth from relatives of the young man, to supplement deficiencies in the Fulanga supplies. The day before the ceremonies the women of the village went on a large fishing expedition. Pigs are usually the most essential wedding food, and the social standing of a clan depends on the number of pigs killed for the occasion, but pigs are scarce in Naivindamu and none were killed for this wedding.

Early in the morning of the wedding day, relatives began to arrive from the other villages on Fulanga. A few came by canoes from the neighboring island of Ongea. A group of men sat smoking and drinking kava in a lively circle on the mound of a house under construction. A large mat sail, leaning against the house framework, protected the house mound from the sun. Some old men were wrapping balls of sweet pudding made of breadfruit in leaf bags. Two of the island belles were making and serving kava in a six-legged

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

554 585 614 wooden bowl, and a few girls sat on the fringe of the circle but did not drink.

[164] The men were joking and telling stories. One told a yarn about two men present who had both legs grotesquely swollen by elephantiasis. As healthy young men these two had left Fulanga to seek wives on Namuka, an island famed for its beautiful girls. They were absent nine years, but when finally they returned, instead of lovely young brides they brought home swollen legs from Namuka! This story was greeted with roars of laughter in which the two men joined. One of them, however, immediately retaliated with a long tale of the exploits of his ancestors, to which the others listened politely.

[252] Most of the women and girls were busy in the kitchen houses, steaming edible greens which they boiled with fish in coconut cream for the feast. They made wreaths of leaves, flowers, and strips of hibiscus bark to wear around their necks, and stuck sprays of sweet smelling flowers over their ears. The young men were busy making a pudding of the 252 starch of a tuber (*Yacca pinnatifida*). They stirred red-hot 585 stones in a wooden bowl filled with the starch mixed with water. Toward noon two large earth ovens, full of ripe breadfruit, sliced pumpkin and tapioca pudding were covered with green leaves and earth. Two hours later the ovens were opened and the food was removed and placed in baskets until its distribution after the ceremonial exchange of property.

585 614 The bride and groom took no part in these festivities. The bride, looking none too happy, sat with a group of women in the house of the groom's father which was her headquarters. If her father had been living in the village his house would have been used. The groom, looking dull and bored, stayed in or near his headquarters on the other side of the village. In the middle of the afternoon when the ceremonial exchange of property (called *soleyu*) between the two inter-marrying

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

585 clans took place, the bride and groom became the central [614] figures.

Out of the house used as the groom's headquarters came four girls, each bearing one corner of a large mat stretched at full length. Just behind them walked a person I took to be the bride, wearing yards and yards of Tongan barkcloth,[15] extending from the armpits almost to the ground and tied around the waist with a piece of pandanus. This festively clad person turned out to be the groom, whom I had failed to recognize in ceremonial attire. His body was oiled, and around his neck he wore an elaborate wreath of leaves and hibiscus bark dyed burnt-orange (with *Morindà citrifolia*). His upstanding hair was bleached rust color. He wore a head ornament consisting of two red and blue pompoms of imported wool, fastened just above the temples to a barkcloth headband.

The procession walked to the bride's house where the mat was placed on a piece of Tongan barkcloth in front of the entrance. The procession walked over it into the house. There the groom left his outer garment as a gift to the bride's relatives, and returned in his *lavalava* of Fijian barkcloth[16] to his headquarters.

Next six girls, carrying an outstretched piece of Tongan barkcloth, emerged from the bride's house. They were followed by the bride, resplendently dressed in a voluminous outer garment of Tongan barkcloth like the groom's. She wore a wreath like his but no ornament in her hair, which was sprinkled with fragrant, powdered sandalwood. The bride and her attendants walked to the groom's headquarters where the barkcloth was placed in front of the entrance. The procession walked over it into the house. In the groom's

[287] [531] [15] Barkcloth made by the Tongan method of joining strips of bark by pasting them together to form long sheets, and ornamented by rubbing the sheets with dye over raised designs.

[16] Barkcloth made by the Fijian method of joining strips of bark by beating together their overlapping edges and ornamented with a stencil.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

585 exchange native dances and the old people drink kava. Late in the evening all the guests leave the house except the young couple and frequently three or four old female relatives of the bridegroom, including his mother, grandmother, and paternal aunt who remain for the "virginity test". They sleep in the house with the young couple to find out whether or not the bride is a virgin.

If the results of the test are satisfactory the old women announce the glad news to the village by shouting and dancing, and the village drums are beaten. To celebrate the occasion a large feast is prepared by the young man's relatives. A pig is killed and the body openings such as the snout, eyes, ears, and anus are frequently covered with banana leaves as a symbol of virginity. If the signs of virginity are not produced the groom's relatives are angry and the girl's relatives are very much ashamed. In this case only a very small feast is prepared by the man's side.

585 302 [614] [606] If the girl is wearing "virgin locks" they are cut on the day after the wedding. Both clans assemble in the young man's house where his clan presents mats and barkcloth to the girl's clan. The mats are piled and the barkcloth is placed on top. The bride sits on the pile and her mother-in-law singes the locks, or cuts them if a pair of scissors is available. The hair is usually thrown away, but occasionally the girl makes it into a necklace.

585 [515] Another ceremony takes place in the man's house on the day after the wedding. The man's relatives present property to the girl's relatives. Every morning for four days the relatives of the groom prepare a small breakfast feast for the young couple. The ritual washing is held for the bride on the fourth day after the wedding. The bride takes a bath in the sea for the first time since her wedding. The natives say that if she bathes in the sea before the fourth day, water will get into her stomach and make her sick. The bride goes fishing with her relatives to secure sea-food for the large

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

CHAPTER III

POLITICS AND POLICEMEN

539 GREAT BRITAIN TAKES COMMAND

Na vatu manawa, na vua i rama,
Yau talatala, vakaselotaki mana wangga,
Tambu wangga ko ira na kai Mathuata
Laki kele tara i matamatana.

Floating stones, the fruits of light,
Wonderful canoes welcomed by the murmuring breeze,
Chiefly canoes of the people of Mathuata
About to anchor at the mouth of the passage.

Ancient club dance, Fiji.

614 WE HAVE THUS SEEN how every Lauan child is born into his father's clan. It is as a member of his clan rather than an individual that he goes through life. Under the Lauan social system the patrilineal clan is the basic social unit. Each clan is controlled by a clan headman and is composed of two or three sub-clans. Each sub-clan consists of several households, usually made up of a man, his wife, his children and near relatives such as his parents.[17]

614 621 178 Before the introduction of Christianity each clan formed a hamlet, located in the bush or the garden land, and protected by a hill fortress. One of the most far-reaching effects of the introduction of Christianity was the elimination of warfare in the group. As soon as protection against enemy raids was no longer necessary, most of the hamlets moved down to the coast and consolidated into more convenient coast villages. Later, under colonial regulation village residence was made compulsory and hamlet dwellers were heavily fined. In re-

[17] For details concerning the social organization of Lau, see L. Thompson, "Southern Lau, Fiji, an Ethnography," op. cit.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

quiring the hamlets to consolidate into coast villages, which become the basic units of a new political system, the colonial government, while retaining the kinship structure of ranked clans in Lauan society, shifted the emphasis to some extent from kinship to geographic political groups. Although the basic allegiance of an individual is still toward his clan, a feeling of local village consciousness has developed and has led to the cooperation in communal enterprises of larger groups of individuals than heretofore. The expansion of the natives' social horizon has prepared the way for the acceptance of a broader view toward human relationships.

The British colonial policy in Fiji is based on the principle of indirect rule. Under this principle the old native system has been elaborated to accommodate the needs of colonial administration, but has retained its basic structure. Old political divisions have been retained and local native chiefs have been given colonial political appointments so that the native social system would be disturbed as little as possible. The governor of the colony and other ranking government officials have been placed above the high chiefs in the native ranking system. Over all is His Majesty the King. The political structure is still reinforced by old native ceremonies such as the presentation and exchange of gifts, kava drinking, and dancing. These ceremonies are used not only for native chiefs but also for British colonial officials.

The government of the colony is administered by a governor, who is assisted by an executive and a legislative council. The executive council consists of the governor as president, the colonial secretary, the attorney general, the colonial treasurer, the secretary for native affairs, and the secretary for Indian affairs, and two elected members. The legislative council consists of the governor as president, the colonial secretary, the colonial treasurer, the attorney general, the secretaries for Indian and native affairs, the directors of medical services, education, agriculture, public works, the comptroller of

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

554 177 634 to use the thatched house of the chief of the lower class in the village (called *Tui Nggalinggali*). When Masi heard of this arrangement he immediately walked half-way around the island to see us, and begged us with tears in his eyes to accept his hospitality and not that of the chief of the lower class. Such an arrangement, he felt, would be a personal slight.

554 177 578 634 Masi's appointment undoubtedly fanned the flames of jealousy between Tokalau and Tanggu, the two rival villages on Kambara. This reached a high point when the whole island was preparing for the visit of Ratu Sukuna, the district commissioner of Lau. The production of tribute objects (i.e. two canoes, sails, mats, and tapa) and the preparations for the feast and ceremonies took several months. As the date of the visit drew near a quarrel arose between Tokalau and Tanggu because the latter insisted upon having two separate ceremonies, one for west Kambara at Tokalau, and one for east Kambara at Tanggu. Long and heated discussions were [623] held at frequent village assemblies, and nearly every day individuals representing one side or the other would visit us and whisper new developments in the affair. Each side remained adamant, but the matter was quickly settled when the district commissioner announced upon arrival that he could stay only a few hours on the island. Both factions then united in the ceremonies at Tokalau, but many individuals on the east side consequently missed the festivities.

634 ● 614 554 159 The division of political power in the Kambara district has deeply affected the ranking clan of Tokalau and especially its headman, Tchosaia, the titular chief of Kambara. For five months I lived next door to Tchosaia, an old man of about seventy years, in one of his houses in the clan compound, and learned to know him well. Tchosaia lived alone in the largest house in the village. It was well built on a stone-faced mound over a meter high, and decorated with cowry shells, a symbol of rank. We were accepted by the clan and took

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

part in all its activities. Tchosaia, who no longer did any physical work, spent much of his time in my house chatting over the kava bowl. He was a man with "mana", feared and respected on the island. He had a keen and independent mind, a sense of humor, and a naturally dignified chiefly manner. In a matter involving precedence he was always accorded highest rank.

As a young man, Tchosaia spent much time traveling, both in Fiji and in Tonga and living at the high chief's court at Lakemba. He learned to speak the Mbauan and the Tongan languages. According to the old ceremony for preparing kava, the kava root was chewed by noble youths before being placed in the kava bowl and mixed with water. Kava chewing has been forbidden, and today the root is either pounded on a stone slab with a stone hammer or crushed in a wooden mortar with an iron pestle. Formerly Tchosaia was one of the noble youths who chewed kava for the high chief. When we knew him he still had a perfect set of strong white teeth which he attributed to kava chewing. At Lakemba he learned the complicated court etiquette and court phraseology used only when addressing the high chief and nobles of highest rank in Lakemba. Instead of the ordinary words, extravagantly flattering or descriptive metaphors are used for the parts of the body, the actions, and the relationships of nobles. For instance, a chief's eye is called "brightness", his ear "bird's wing", his body "ivory skin", and head "place above". A chief's house, always centrally located, is the "center of the town". When a chief speaks he "makes sound", when he dies he "falls" or "sleeps".[20]

Tchosaia's experience and training at the chief's court set him apart from the other Kambarans, who considered him the best authority on olden times, on the traditions and customs of the nobles, and on Lauan folklore. He knew from memory

[20] A. M. Hocart, "The Lau Islands, Fiji," Bishop Museum, Bulletin 62, Honolulu, 1929, pp. 47-48.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

upper arm, as chief of the island. Moreover, the first fruits of the whole island are still presented regularly to him. In every ceremony he is accorded the honors of a real, not a titular chief. This is due partly to the fact that his title is clear. There is no confusion regarding the relative rank of clans on Mothe as there is on Kambara. Furthermore, the chief of Mothe is more closely related to the high chief of Lau than the chief of Kambara, since the chief of Mothe and the high chief have a common ancestor five generations back, whereas the chief of Kambara and the high chief have a common ancestor about ten generations back.

The recently created political office of village headman plays an important part in village affairs. The village headman is responsible for the actual enforcement of the native regulations which provide for the communal performance of all activities considered beneficial to the community. These activities include gardening, village planning, house building and sanitation, maintenance of roads and communal property, and the control of infectious diseases. Besides these executive duties the headman welcomes guests and calls village assemblies to decide matters of communal importance.

The headmen of the villages we visited were generally men of rank and ability. I gained the impression that they were executing their duties ably. This was especially true in the village of Tokalau. Ketei of a noble clan (Vuanitavola) was acting village headman in place of Inoke, the son of Tchosaia, the titular chief of Kambara. Inoke was absent on contract labor in Taveuni for the year. Ketei was the most industrious man in the village. He carried out his duties quietly and effectively, and Tokalau was known as one of the cleanest villages in Lau. The village was kept free of bush and was swept by communal labor.

The office of village headman has practically eliminated the old title of village chief. For instance, the headman of a sub-clan (Matandravu) in Tokalau holds the title of "chief-

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

There was apparently little if any gardening on these islands before the introduction of manioc and sweet potato in recent times, inasmuch as yams, taro, and bananas, the main native garden products of Fiji, grow poorly in this soil. Jungle products formerly provided the staple food. According to informants, the *wangiri* nut was the staple on the limestone islands and Kambara, while the *yambia* (*Tacca pinnatifida*) was the staple on the volcanic islands. Collecting of fruits, nuts, tubers, green leaves, and wood grubs in the bush was supplemented by many kinds of fishing, pig and fowl raising, and by hunting sea turtle and coconut crabs. Moreover, food was and is still imported from the volcanic islands in exchange for craft products. The development of craftsmanship was based on the presence of rare and valuable resources such as hardwoods, the finest types of paper mulberry for making barkcloth, and pandanus. Carpentry, fishing and in recent times barkcloth making, were organized under hereditary specialists and a high degree of technical skill was attained. Before the first contact with western civilization, canoes, wooden bowls, drums, weapons, barkcloth, mats, and perfumed oil from the southern islands were in demand throughout Fiji and Tonga.

The native Lauan economic system still functions with slight modifications today. It is still closely integrated with the whole social and religious life of the natives. Practically all work is done in kinship groups. Even now a man labors not for himself but primarily for his clan. The main task of production is borne by the household or the sub-clan, depending on the size of the group and the nature of the task. Work requiring many hands, such as house and canoe building and barkcloth making, is done communally by a clan or village group under the direction of a specialist. Important steps such as the planting and harvesting of yams, the felling of the hull or launching of a canoe, the erection of the main house-posts and the completion of the house are marked by

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

476 ceremonies and a feast. Tabus are placed upon specialists
614 while working for a high chief, and the products of their labor and certain types of work such as preparation of food for the earth oven are tabu to women and boys.

554 The elaborate ranking system is reflected in every phase of the economic life. The work of production is classified according to rank. For instance, skilled workmanship, such as lashing complicated designs or measuring the curved purlin of a house, is done only by the master carpenter; turtles are netted only by men of the chief group under the master fisherman. Moreover, rank is shown in the distribution and consumption of goods. Even in the daily consumption of food by household or sub-clan groups, precedence is paramount. The women and children do not eat until they have served the men in order of rank. Food at a feast is shared according to formal procedure. The chief's portion (which consisted in pre-Tongan times of the head of the pig or turtle as the part containing the most "mana", but now consists of the back, due to Tongan influence) is presented first, then the portion of each clan, according to rank. Formerly the best of everything was reserved for the chief. He received an offering of the first fruits of the harvest, and after a fishing expedition all turtles and certain large fine fish were presented to him. These customs are still practiced on islands like Mothe
[177] where the institution of chieftainship has been only slightly modified in recent times, but they survive only in part on islands like Kambara where native political officials have gained much of the power formerly held by the chief.

556 The philosophy underlying the Fijian economic system is
431 fundamentally different from the western competitive capitalistic system in that social prestige is acquired not through the accumulation of wealth but through its distribution. Fijian systems of distribution differ fundamentally from western ones. They concentrate on competitive generosity in gift exchange, which works against the accumulation and

6: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1947 OQ6 Lau OQ6

Tongans.[20] Moreover, as noted in *Southern Lau*,[21] more than 80% of the inhabitants are affiliated not with the "Nakauvandra people" but the earlier land people. (See pp. 8 ff.) In this connection one wonders why, if Capell and Lester are so sure that "certainty is difficult to reach" regarding the problems of southern Lau, they make a categorical statement regarding the basis of Lauan civilization without documentation. In this connection we should also note that, according to population estimates, the "Nakauvandra people" did not by any means overrun southern Lau, as maintained by Capell and Lester.[22]

Let us turn now to some of the findings in *Southern Lau* to which my critics take explicit exception. "Totemic" phenomena, on which Capell and Lester centre their concern in southern Lau, cannot be understood except in the context of the functioning social system as a whole. Although this is fully treated in *Southern Lau*, for purposes of the discussion it will be necessary to include a brief outline of it here.

The Functioning Social System of Southern Lau

The most obvious social unit in southern Lau is the village (called *koro*). The villages are united into larger political divisions of minor chiefdoms (formerly called *mata ni tu*) which stand in tributary relationship to the high chief at Lakemba. Moreover, each village is composed of three or more clans (called *matanggali*), that is, unilateral kinship groups which as a rule are exogamous, patrilineal and patrilocal. Before the abolition of warfare in Lau the clans occupied hamlets (called *itokatoka*) in garden lands or clearing in the bush. Thereafter they moved to the coast and united in villages but many clans still retained their local unity in the village. Hence the clans are really clan-hamlets, that is, both kinship and geographic units. The clans are divided into sub-clans (usually called *mbatchi ni lovo*, although the senior sub-clans may be called *itokatoka*). The sub-clans are subdivided into families or households (called *vuvale*).

The clans may also be classified into larger kinship divisions which I have called phratries (*yavusa*). There were five such groups of clans on the five islands surveyed, that is, two major groups, namely (1) the clans of the land people (*kai vanua*) and (2) the clans of the "Nakauvandra people"; and three minor groups, namely (1) the clans of the chief's carpenters (*matai sau*), (2) those of the *lameki* carpenters (*matai lemaki*), and (3) those of the sea people (*kai wai*). From an analysis of all the available data, including the genealogies of the thirty-seven clans existent in 1933-34, it appears that these five phratries stem from historic migrations to the islands.

Inasmuch as the evidence concerning the "Nakauvandra" group of clans is the most clear cut, I shall discuss it first, although to this phratry only five clans (representing less than 20% of the population of southern Lau) may be definitely assigned.

[20] *Southern Lau*, pp. 212 ff.

[21] *Southern Lau*, p. 32.

[22] Capell and Lester, *op. cit.*, Vol. XII, p. 38.

6: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1947 OQ6 Lau OQ6

The Problem of "Totemism" in Southern Lau

621 A study of the "totemic" phenomena presented in *Southern Lau* reveals traces of what appear to be two "totemic" systems in the group: (1) a "totemic" system associated with island groups, and (2) a "totemic" system associated with clan groups. Although the data on each system are fragmentary and inconclusive, there is some evidence that they form a pattern which may be summarized as follows:

(1) "Totemic" phenomena associated with island groups.

On four out of the five islands studied (namely Kambara, Namuka, Mothe and Fulanga) the land people apparently formerly believed that they originated in some local natural phenomenon, either a tree or an animal. The land people of the island believed that they were the descendants of their particular tree or animal. The totemic ancestor of the land people of Kambara, namely the *ngingia* tree, even bore the title of Vu (ancestor) and the people were called *vuaningingia* (fruit of the *ngingia*). Similarly the land people of each of the islands mentioned above also claimed one or more species of fish which was propitiated with offerings of kava, food and wreaths and those of Kambara and Mothe had a species of bird. No evidence was found of island exogamy associated with the island totemism of the land people. On the contrary, island endogamy was strongest on the islands peopled by land clans.[29]

614 (2) "Totemic" phenomena associated with clan groups.

At least half of the thirty-seven clans studied possessed three "totems": species of fish, a species of bird, and a species of tree. These were called *ithavutchi*. Thus it appears from the data in *Southern Lau* that the "trilogy of linked totems," considered by Capell and Lester[30] to be "normal" in Fiji, is associated in this area with some clans. No evidence was found of belief in descent from the clan "totem." Since clans in Lau are exogamous, this type of "totemism" is associated with exogamy.

Two clans belonging to the "Nakauvandra" group, namely Vuanikathu clan of Tokalau village on Kambara island and Mbutonokoro clan of Nasau village on Mothe island, also had a war cry and war gods. Regarding their *wanggawangga ni kalou-vu* I have no information.

The inference that there were formerly two systems of "totemic" beliefs in southern Lau, one associated with the land people, the other with the "Nakauvandra people," which derives some support from my data, fits in well with the general conclusions regarding the culture history of the area stated above.

It should be added that there is a certain resemblance between the "totemic" phenomena associated with the land people of southern Lau and those described

[29] *Southern Lau*, p. 54.

[30] *Op. cit.*, p. 28.

6: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1947 OQ6 Lau OQ6

by Epeli Rokowangga. This is noted by Capell and Lester, who quote Rokowangga as follows: "Our ancestors also said, 'We Fijians originated from animals . . .; some again, we originated from fish, and some again, we originate from stones and some different kinds of trees.'[31] But Capell and Lester add that Rokowangga "missed the point" because as a Methodist minister he continued, "Are they perchance right? Never!" Far from being dismissed, however, these data as well as those from southern Lau should be weighed and investigated impartially. It is patently unscientific, merely because they do not fit into a preconceived formula, to try to establish "a bias" against them, as Capell and Lester specifically state they are attempting to do.[32] Indeed the very fact that they do not fit indicates that also the formula should be investigated. Obviously, if all data which do not fit into a preconceived scheme are arbitrarily ruled out, the possibility of the discovery of new knowledge is eliminated.

The Yavusa Problem in Southern Lau

In considering the problem of "totemism" in southern Lau there remains yet to be discussed the discrepancy between my data and those of the Native Land Commission, listed by Capell and Lester "as a corrective" to mine, as follows[33]:

Island.	*Yavusa.*	*Wanggawangga.*	Tree.	Fish.	*Manumanu.*
Kambara	Nakoro	man	*ngingia*	shark	heron and gull
	Namburavi	snake	*ngingia* and *ivi*	shark	heron and rat
	Vuaningingia	black heron	*ngingia*	shark	black heron and gull
	Nukuleka	banded sea-snake	casuarina sp.	*sangga*	*lawendua* and *laiseni* birds
Fulanga	Muanaira:	shark	*nggaikula*	*kawanggo*	*nggawenngawekula*
	Naivindamu	*kuthu*	*mbau*	*tunggandra:*	owl
	Ongea	?	ironwood	mullet	*kaisevau*
Mothe	Ndelaimakotu	man	*thau*	*sara*	*ndilio*

This brings us to a consideration of the *yavusa* problem.

First, it should be noted that under the heading *yavusa* the Native Land Commission lists for Kambara island (1) Nakoro which, according to my informants, is the ceremonial name of Nggalinggali village[34]; (2) Numburavi, the ceremonial name of Lomatchi village[35]; (3) Vuaningingia, the title of the land people of Kambara whose origin is reputed to be at Undu village[36]; and (4) Nukuleka, the ceremonial

[31] *Ibid.*

[32] *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.

[33] *Ibid.*

[34] *Southern Lau*, p. 22.

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 22. I have spelled the word Numbaravi.

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 105. Raviravibalavu is the ceremonial name of Undu village. (*Ibid.*, p. 23.)

6: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1947 OQ6 Lau OQ6

614 name of Tokalau village.[37] For Fulanga are listed as *yavusa* (1) Muanaira, the name of one of the three existent Fulanga villages; (2) Naivindamu, the name of another of the villages; and (3) Ongea, the name by which Naithulaianga village on Ongea island is known. Omitted from the Fulanga list, according to Capell and Lester, is Fulanga *yavusa*, which accounts for the third village of the island, namely Muanaithake. The only *yavusa* on Mothe listed is Ndelaimakotu, the name of the archæological fortress site formerly occupied by the Mothe people.[38] Namuka island does not appear on the list.

From the above it appears that the functioning social groups to which the Native Land Commission's *yavusa* for southern Lau correspond are *village* groups, the most obvious of all the social groups in the area. This inference fits every case listed, even Mothe if, as I infer, the two historically distinct but at present contiguous villages of Mothe, namely Nasau and Korotolu, have been listed as one unit by the Native Land Commission.

[114] Let us now examine Capell's definition of a *yavusa* in the *New Fijian Dictionary*. A *yavusa*, according to this source, is "the largest kinship and social division of Fijian society, consisting of the descendants of one originator (*vu*), and recognizing one *kalou-vu* (originating spirit or god, normally the father of the *vu*), and one set of totems and war-cry."

Testing by this definition each *yavusa* listed for southern Lau by the Native Land Commission, we find that:

Nakoro (that is, Nggalinggali village), made up of two "Nakauvandra" clans (Tanggu and Naivotavota), one land clan (Nanggara) and one *matai lemaki* clan (Matai Lemaki), consists of the descendants of three originators rather than one. To wit, the two "Nakauvandra" clans trace their pedigrees back to Ndaunisai, the land clan claims a local origin near Undu, and the *matai lemaki* clan traces its pedigree back to Lemaki, a Samoan carpenter. We conclude that Nakoro does not fulfil the first condition of a *yavusa* laid down by the *New Fijian Dictionary* definition, namely that of consisting of the descendants of a common originator.

The same argument holds for Nukuleka (that is, Tokalau village), which is made up of two "Nakauvandra" clans (Vuanikathu and Vuanitavola) and one land clan (Katoka). It also holds for Ndelaimakotu if, as I surmise, the Native Land Commission's Ndelaimakotu grouping includes the two contiguous Mothe villages. Taken together these are made up of one "Nakauvandra" clan (Mbutonikoro) and five land clans (Nasau, Kamali, Vangariki, Banganduku and Nggali).

Turning to the villages made up of clans which are not affiliated with the "Nakauvandra people," we find that the Vuaningingia (that is, Undu village) group is composed entirely of land clans with the exception of the Matai Sau. The land people of Undu believe themselves descended from the aborigines of Lau but

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

[38] *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26.

6: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1947 OQ6 Lau OQ6

are not distinguished from the Numburavi (that is, Lomatchi) group (consisting entirely of land clans) in this respect.

It is interesting to note that in the Native Land Commission's list Undu and Lomatchi villages have almost identical "totems," which correspond to those recorded in *Southern Lau* for the Kambara land group except for the *manumanu*. However, the Nggalinggali group also claims the tree (*ngingia*) and the fish (shark) which, according to my informants, belonged to the land people of Kambara island.

Also Muanaira and Naivindamu, two Fulanga villages composed entirely of land clans and, according to my notes, reputed to be descended from the earliest inhabitants, do not fulfil the conditions laid down by the definition for classification as separate *yavusa*.

Ongea (that is, Naithulaianga village) is composed of two clans (Mata and Nggalileka) belonging definitely to the land group, one clan (Tawalo) which claims to be *kai wai*, and one clan (Tumbesara) which may belong to " Nakauvandra " but since its pedigree does not show direct descent to Ndaunisai cannot be definitely assigned to it. Ongea therefore definitely does not fulfil the dictionary definition requirements of a *yavusa* group.

Thus our inquiry into the nature of the groups labelled *yavusa* by the Native Land Commission reveals that not one fulfils the condition regarding belief in a common ancestor laid down by the dictionary definition.

Of the functioning social groups defined by me in *Southern Lau*, on the other hand, three of the five phratries (namely, " Nakauvandra," Matai Lemaki and Mata Sau) do fulfil the condition regarding belief in a common ancestor laid down by the definition. Moreover, all five of the clans which I have definitely assigned to the " Nakauvandra " phratry trace their pedigrees directly to their common ancestor (*vu*), namely Ndaunisai, and claim a common ancestor god (*kalou-vu*), namely Ndengei, who is reputed to be the father of the *vu*. They do not have a common set of totems, so far as my information extends, nor a common war cry. On the other hand, two of the five " Nakauvandra " clans within the phratry claim a common set of totems and a common war cry.

Of the other four phratries, the Matai Lemaki traces descent from the Samoan carpenter, Lemaki ; the Matai Sau from the Matai Sau originally from Viti Levu ; the *kai wai*, so far as the evidence extends, seem to stem from the *kai wai* of eastern Fiji ; and the land group of each island traditionally traced its origin to some natural phenomenon on the island rather than to a common originator for all the land people.

The available evidence, therefore, leads us to infer that in southern Lau there is no over-all, area-wide social group, either based on kinship or on geography, which fulfils all of the conditions stipulated by the New Fijian Dictionary's definition of the term *yavusa*. Let us consider first the Native Land Commission data. If, as we assume from the Native Land Commission's list, each village group has a *wangga-wangga*, a tree, a fish, and a *manumanu*, then the village group fulfils one of the requirements of the definition, namely that of claiming a common set of " totems." But our analysis of the functioning social system shows that only in four of the village

6: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1947 OQ6 Lau OQ6

groups listed by the Native Land Commission (that is, Undu, Lomatchi, Muanaira and Naivindamu) do we find any evidence of common ancestry for all the inhabitants, and in these cases the common ancestry, being based on a traditional belief in descent from the aboriginal inhabitants of the island does not exclude the land clans from other villages on the same island.

Turning to the data presented in Southern Lau, on the other hand, we note first that the phratry groups come much nearer to fulfilling the condition of common ancestry laid down by the dictionary definition, but do not, so far as is known, have a common set of totems and a war cry. Indeed the land people are characterized as definitely unwarlike. Secondly, we note that two clans of the " Nakauvandra " phratry seem to fulfil all the conditions of the definition and it is possible that the other three " Nakauvandra " clans did so at one time. However, the remaining thirty-two clans in the area studied, as far as is known, do not fulfil these conditions.

The absence of a clear-cut *yavusa* division in the functioning social system of southern Lau, revealed by our analysis, explains both the confusion of the natives regarding the meaning of the word *yavusa* in terms of actual living social groups (especially the discrepancy between informants belonging to the " Nakauvandra " group and to the land group), and it explains the discrepancy between the use of the term by the Native Land Commission and by the writer. The Native Land Commission associates it with village groups (that is, groups of clans related by common residence) whereas I associate it with phratries (that is, groups of clans related by common ancestry). The *yavusa* of the Native Land Commission is a social group based on geography ; that of the writer is a social group based on traditional belief in common descent from a human or mythical ancestor. Since, however, common ancestry is the key notion stressed in a literal translation of the word *yavusa*[39] as well as in Capell's definition, I conclude that there is more justification for my use of the term than for that of the Native Land Commission. Indeed it appears from the above analysis that the Native Land Commission has attempted to superimpose a previously developed formula on to the social system of southern Lau regardless of the social groups actually functioning there. And this in turn explains why Capell and Lester claim that groupings of *yavusa* in southern Lau are " easily ascertainable," a fallacy of which has been revealed by our analysis of the problem on the basis of the actual living structures.

On the basis of the above analysis, I submit that of all the social groups functioning in southern Lau, the term *yavusa* fits the phratry best. However, on account of the confusion regarding the term, it may be advisable to eliminate it altogether in describing the social system of this area.

The confusion as to the meaning of the word *yavusa* in terms of the actual social groups found in southern Lau is understandable on the basis of either one of two hypotheses, both of which fit into the general conclusions presented in *Southern Lau*

[39] " The original founder of the group is called its *vu*, or root . . . ; the group which originates from him is called a *yavusa*." (Capell and Lester, *op. cit.*, Vol. XI, p. 314.)

6: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1947 OQ6 Lau OQ6

regarding the culture history of the area. One explanation is that the word had different connotations among the land people and among the "Nakauvandra" people and that the confusion created by this situation has persisted down to the present. The other and more plausible explanation is that the term was introduced into southern Lau by the "Nakauvandra people" along with certain changes in the social structure. But in the blending of the two complexes, that of the land people and that of the immigrants, its original meaning was confused or lost. The latter explanation fits into Capell and Lester's hypothesis regarding the origin of the term.[40]

The Matanggali Group in Southern Lau

Since my critics also questioned my use of the term *matanggali*, a word is inserted here in regard to it. I used the term *matanggali* to designate a clan, namely a "unilateral kinship unit which is, as a rule, exogamous, patrilineal and patrilocal."[41] It is used thus by the natives and by Hocart,[42] and I submit that of all the social groups in southern Lau with the exception of the village, the *matanggali* is the most clear cut and the least open to question.

Theoretically a clan consists of the descendants of a band of brothers who occupied a hamlet site (*itokatoka*) and a few clans trace their pedigrees to the original bands. After the abolition of warfare in Lau the hamlets moved to the coast and united into villages, often retaining their local unity in the village. Hence many clans are really clan-hamlets, both kinship and geographic units. As the clan group expanded, it divided into sub-clans, the senior branch being called *itokatoka*, the junior ones *mbatchi ni lovo*, or else all the sub-clans were simply called *mbatchi ni lovo*.

Thus the *matanggali* division in southern Lau conforms to a marked degree to Capell's definition of the word in the *New Fijian Dictionary*: "Matanggali: 'the primary social division in Fiji, larger than the *itokatoka* and smaller than the *yavusa*. It appears to have sprung from the subdivisions of naturally increasing families, the sons of an original ancestor being the heads of the resulting matanggali.'"

Summary

The argument advanced in this paper may be summarized as follows:

1. There is a high degree of probability that the main outlines of the functioning social system (including the major social groups in historical perspective) described in *Southern Lau* are correct. There is some disagreement, however, regarding the native terminology used to designate the various functioning social groups.

2. An examination of the data on "totemic" phenomena described in *Southern Lau* reveals traces of what appear to be two "totemic" systems in the area, an earlier one affiliated with the land people and a later one introduced by the "Nakauvandra people."

[40] *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 314 ff.
[41] *Southern Lau*, p. 35.
[42] "Lau Islands, Fiji," *Bishop Museum Bulletin* 62, 1929, pp. 10 ff.

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

for the four nights were past. It was the worst case that had happened since the evil Lord Turuku had in like manner slain the Ravunisa in the early days of the government."

"What was that?" I said. I had heard some rumour of this old tragedy before, but I thought I might glean some fresh information about it from this man.

"I know nothing of that, sir," he replied. "I was but an infant at the time. But I have heard that it is all written in the great books at the Court House. The only thing I know is that the name of that Ravunisa was Ratu Mudu."

When I returned to head-quarters I looked up some of the dusty old books of record at my office, and discovered in one (containing reports for the year 1881) a full account of the happenings at the death of the Ravunisa of that time. It appears that there were two great families or clans at Lomaloma (the capital of the Lau Islands) dating from very early times, called the Galà people and the Buca people. A third clan, called Na Turuku, lived on the borders of the same town, but though strong and important were always regarded as "outside the pale," and not quite as belonging to Lomaloma. The heads of the two inner tribes of Galà and Buca bore the hereditary titles of the "Ravunisa" and the "Rasau" respectively. The head of the Na Turuku

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

people was merely called "Tui Na Turuku" (Chief of Na Turuku). For some generations back there had existed a barely concealed rivalry between Galà and Na Turuku; but although Galà considered themselves the more chiefly people, Na Turuku had one great point in their favour—*the hereditary priest had to come from a certain family in their tribe*, and the priest-caste dealt in magic and other awe-inspiring matters!

So it came about that Ratu Mudu (lit., "cut off suddenly," a most prophetic name, had his parents only known it) was one day stricken ill with some mysterious complaint, and told his relatives that he knew he was doomed to die. Now, this was a most serious matter, as only one generation earlier it would have meant a large strangling of widows and other savage ceremonies for the death of so great a chief; and even now it was a matter that would convulse the whole island. And to make matters worse the Ravunisa said that he was convinced he had been bewitched (*vakadraudrau'd*).

The next day a message was sent to the Magistrate that the Ravunisa was dead! The Magistrate hastened to the house, where all the mourners were assembled, and a crowd outside, and he found the Ravunisa laid out in state, but still convulsively moving under the funeral cloth! In the eyes of the people, according to ancient

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

custom, he *was* dead, because he was "as good as dead."[1] But he lingered on for another day, in a semi-comatose condition, and died on September 13, 1881, having refused to be sent to hospital "as he knew it was hopeless."

He was given a great funeral, and for four nights all his followers slept in a solid ring round his grave, with some of them doing sentry-go up and down all night, armed with axes and clubs. They were determined that the worker of the witchcraft should not be able to *suaka* the grave.

His brother, the heir-apparent, Jioti Sugusugu by name, was away on the day of the death, but immediately he returned he gave orders for all trees and shrubs to be cut away for a good distance in the vicinity of the grave, to give no chance of concealment to anyone. And Tui Na Turuku was kept under close but secret observation all through the critical period. He actually visited the Magistrate (Charles R. Swayne, C.M.G.) and asked him to remove the grave-guard "as it hurt his feelings," but Mr. Swayne very wisely refused, as that would have only cast still further suspicion at the time on Tui Na Turuku, without giving any certain proof of crime.

Nothing further happened at *that* time, but it

[1] Curiously enough, much the same thing happened about the present Tui Na Turuku, an old man of about seventy-five, only a month ago. I was told that he was at death's door; and on going to see him I found him laid out in his grave-clothes! But I gave him some simple medicines and I saw him only a few days ago amusing himself by vigorously digging in his garden.